1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 1c]

101 to stay, and for the first time the foothill peoples experienced the dismay previously
131 suffered by the lake tribes as the intruders increased in numbers. Still, after the hos-
177 tilities of 1851 and certain dislocations resulting from attempts to reservationize the natives, a balance of peace between Indians and whites was established and Yokuts life went on. The villages in the foothills resumed their habits and the displaced Indians from the fertile strip between the lake and the foothills straggled in for haven.

101 In the upper hills the Western Mono,[1] who up to 1850 were entirely undisturbed by white
131 intrusion, were still not on easily friendly terms with their Yokuts neighbors below them.
177 Even as late as 1870 a mutual antagonism was
● 648 manifested by both the Penutians and Shoshoneans, although in differing degrees depending on how far these natives were thrown together because of pressure from a common enemy, the American strangers. The Ghost Dance of 1870, diffused into Yokuts territory by Mono proselytizers, was the first social affair in which these two groups mingled freely, and even then mutual suspicion was not entirely dispelled.

177 The outward similarities of culture now to be found between Yokuts and Western Mono are largely a veneer assumed recently by the latter. To analyze both cultures for the segregation of items into culture-historical compartments is a formidable and intricate task which I do not propose to undertake here. Yet some indication of the major features of the question may be given in brief.

Clearly the ceremonies which adorned and characterized Yokuts culture -- the Jimsonweed Ritual, the Rattlesnake Ceremony, the Annual Mourning Ceremony with its components of Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest -- came to the Western Mono only as introduced performances. Probably few Wobonuch or Waksachi had witnessed them in Yokuts villages until, after 1870, they were free to go there as trusted visitors, or

[1] Including those called Northfork by Gifford (see Bibliography) and spoken of collectively as Monachi herein.

133 At this time each of the creeks was at its height; they are deep and rapid, and four of them much wider than Tulé river.[35]

The condition of the country between the territory of the Wukchumni and Gawia on the Kaweah River and that of the tribes on Kings River was much as it is now (save for oases of agriculture made possible by modern irrigation), and the region seems to have been without native villages, the area probably being used only for hunting and seed-gathering.

[312] 311]

On the 15th and 16th of May, Derby's party completed the crossing of the Kaweah sloughs (the "four creeks"), left the Cowees (Gawia) on the 17th and headed for Kings River.

[134] ... our course lay over a barren sandy plain, interspersed here and there with spots of vegetation, but in general a perfect contrast to the rich soil upon the river Francis [the Kaweah]. About 6 miles from the fifth creek we observed four isolated hills or buttes about six hundred feet high, two of them ranging nearly north and south, and about two miles apart. At the first of these is a constant spring of water....We arrived upon the banks of the Kings River at about 5 P.M., having travelled 23.66 miles in a direct line across the plains.[36]

After a day spent on Kings River, probably at about the present site of Centerville, having ridden up the north bank about fifteen miles and having talked with one or two white men established at the ferry, Derby wrote as follows.

The Kings River is the largest stream in the valley, at this time of spring floods about three hundred yards wide, with a rapid current and water cold as ice. It is about sixty miles in length, rising in two branches high up in the Sierra, which uniting about forty miles from its mouth flow in a southwest direction through the hills and valley, and empty into the Taché [Tulare] lake at its northeast extremity. Its banks are high and well timbered, and the country in its immediate vicinity is apparently fertile. It forms five sloughs like the Francis, but they are much wider and the country between them is swampy and difficult of access. There are no less than seventeen rancherías of Indians upon this river, numbering in all probably about three thousand, including those situated among the hills of the vicinity. Of these those living upon the lower part of the river are friendly and well disposed toward the whites; those high up among the hills are entirely ignorant, treacherous and mischievous I was informed by Colonel Hampton, at the upper ferry, that the Cho-e-minee [Choinimni] rancheria, situated in his

[161] 36]
[618]
[181]

[35] Ibid., 257.
[36] Ibid., 258-260.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 5b]

133 vicinity, and numbering about ninety warriors, had been quite troublesome of late.[17]
648

On the 19th, Derby went southwest 19.84
133 miles, probably through Wimilchi territory, and encamped on the edge of the swamp three miles above the mouth of Kings River opposite a Nutunutu village.

I was anxious to cross the river and visit it, but was informed by the Indians a large
[501] body of whom swam across to our encampment, that all the country in the vicinity was overflown, and that it would be impossible to cross even if we were to construct "balsas" of tulé owing to the rapidity of the current. It was evident enough that the country was overflown.[18]

The following days, 20th to 23rd, Derby's party spent struggling through mire and crossing eight sloughs to reach the Sanjon de San José, the waterway between Tulare Lake and the southern bend of the San Joaquin River. The Tachi lived to the west of it with a few on the east side near the Nutunutu; above them toward the San Joaquin were the Apiachi.

In all these sloughs a strong current was running southwest, or from the San Joaquin river to the lake. The country over which we passed between the sloughs was miserable in the extreme, and our animals suffered terribly for want of grass. There being no wood upon the plain, except an occasional willow on the largest slough, we could make no fires...
The "Sanjon de San José" is a large deep slough about forty miles in length, connecting the water of the Taché [Tulare] lake with the San Joaquin river, with which it unites at its great southern bend. At this time it was about two hundred and forty feet in width, with an extremely slow current setting toward the river.
The whole country for forty miles in extent in a southerly direction by ten in width, between the San Joaquin river and the Taché [Tulare] lake, is during the rainy season and succeeding months until the middle of July, a vast swamp everywhere intersected by sloughs, which are deep, miry and dangerous.[19]

After getting aid Derby's party reached the bend of the San Joaquin River, country attributed to the Pitkachi, on May 24.

At the time of our arrival its [the San Joaquin River] waters were at their highest

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[17]Ibid. Although the Choinimni cannot be held entirely blameless of treachery, it seems doubtful, in the light of the Mayfields' happy experience in the same years (1850-1852), that Garner's murder and other instances of "treachery" should be ascribed to them. The Monachi neighbors are suspect.

[18]Ibid., 259.

[19]Ibid., 260-261.

796 668 [534] The singer accompanists wore their usual ceremonial regalia: feather headdress and skirt, and many talisman necklaces. Their sole instrument was the elderberry clapper (tawatwːl). J.A. recalled only one song, "Hai ˊna·na·ni na ˊna·ni·," whose nonsense syllables she interprets as meaning "I am going to be something -- a crow, snake, stick, frog, water, or anything."

796 668 535 The dance itself, called soto ˊtwi kam (going around or circling dance) and also hi ˊthːˊtwi kam (to drag the feet dance) by the Chunut, was a circular clockwise progression. When, each night, the dance was being performed for the last time, the participants circled once to the right and then to the left (clockwise) three times. Some people joined hands, but women who were carrying cradles held their hands behind their backs to steady the basket and infant occupant.

796 668 [443] The dance ended at break of day. Then everyone went swimming. They ran to the water as fast as possible, men and women together. On the way back they picked up wood for their breakfast fires. There were no food tabus. Eshom Bill [Bob Osborn's father, Co'opo] sold steer meat until it was all consumed; thereafter there was a great food shortage.

[535] [825] On the last day of the Ghost Dance a special rite called the Horse Dance was performed. Owners rode their animals around within the ring of dancers "just like a circus." Old horses were led around and were rejuvenated by the spiritual power (tːpni) of the dance. One of the songs for this seemed to be:

ya ˊa· ya ˊ e· hai ˊya kawai ˊyo
[? ?] horse, caballo

796 668 648 Then word that the white settlers were coming to kill them ended the affair and sent the Indians in flight. Rumors of terrible torture from the whites flew about. On their way back to Pisras, J.A. and her relatives traveled under cover of darkness, hiding during the day. To keep J.A. quiet, her grandmother threatened her with warnings that if the white men found her they would kill her, cut her open, and pull out her intestines.

Later on some singers came down to Pisras to sing for them at a local Ghost Dance. They were still afraid of the white people. They had one or two such dances, but one ended in a drunken brawl.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 48 c] Koyeti

KOYETI

115 The following fragmentary notes were obtained from Dick Francisco (Yao'wi). At the time of my visit some personal difficulties of D.F.'s made him refuse to use any interpreter but his daughter, who proved hopelessly inadequate for her task.

D.F. was born at a rancheria on Deer Creek; his father and mother were both Koyeti -- "everybody who lived there was." They moved to Fort Tejon when he was very young; then after the first Ghost Dance they moved up to Tule [the older reservation where Porterville is now]. They were at Tejon during a big earthquake [1872]. While they lived at Tule there was a great flood which caused people to run to the hills.

648 The Koyeti and Bankalachi were close and friendly neighbors.

342 The houses on Deer Creek were mostly made of the large grass (?) rather than of tules.

756 D.F. does not remember the name of his Koyeti village, or of any chief.[117] He thinks there was "just one captain." But a powerful doctor, Maiye'mai (Manuel) was a well-known Koyeti. His power may have been from Eagle; he was "a good doctor and never killed anyone." He once cured Luisa Francisco, who was suffering from severe pains in her head. When he came to the house, he saw a "devil" (ha·twai''iya: malevolent ghost, "devil") standing by the door "and he knew that was what scared her." To effect the cure he did not cut, but fanned her with an eagle feather and "puffed." However, Maiyemai cured other types of sickness by cutting and sucking.

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[117] Another informant, B.J.A., from Fort Tejon claims that Dick Francisco was a winatum there.

[P. 569] Wukchumni Western Mono NS25

Y 101 131 although their main village was Yeitao (Local Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They would come onto Wukchumni land to gather berries and redbud. There is evidence from historic accounts that the Gawia were once a powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther north than Lindcove.

Y 438 The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and claimed territory as far west as Aukland, according to M.L. They also came down to the edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account, Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine acorns of the black oak.

Y [223] 439] To the east the Wukchumni went into Patwisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with them to make shelters, then sold them to the Patwisha, who lacked tule.

Y [222] The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the southwest, where magnificent groves of oak abounded, to get acorns when there was a shortage in their own area. No payments were made for these friendly forays among any of the above-mentioned tribes.

Y 439 437 The Tachi from the lake bought burden baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels from the Wukchumni, for all their containers were made of twined tule in aboriginal times (according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn made the finest of tule mats which they sold to the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the manufacturers of shell money; they bought the raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast tribes. Thus the movement of money was eastward, of commodities westward.

Y M 177 [191] Very little that is definite can be learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line. He was born and raised at Hotnunyu, a village where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Patwisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a village organization with chiefs and winatums, and entered into all ceremonial affairs with the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The general impression from J.P. and other informants was that the Patwisha were a small group of Western Mono on the way to complete absorption by their more numerous and culturally richer Yokuts neighbors and that they disappeared entirely during the flux and pressure of white encroachment.

M [105] The Eastern Mono, called Mona ʻci by the Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders.

Y 439 648 In the late summer, when the mountain passes were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (waʻtat), jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine

439 Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an under-
648 current of hostility between the Monachi and the Yokuts and these traders were often accompanied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assurance of cordial reception. They never went farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and four days to a week would be the extent of their stay. Women as well as men came on these trading trips, and occasionally one would stay the winter, acquire a man if she could, but return to the eastern side of the mountains the following year.[139] The Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada to trade. After the intrusion of white settlers the eastern side of the mountains was used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white persecution.

101 The Western Mono tribes northeast of the Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were merely called "easterners" or "uplanders" (nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit, Choinimni, and others on Kings River were called "northerners" (hoisa´´ima). All tribes south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and southward, were called "southerners" (humt:´n:n).

Wukchumni Villages

124 I was not able to secure anything comparable to a census for any Wukchumni village, as only a remnant population was left even in the childhood of my informants. Certain families and persons are well remembered and repeatedly referred to by all informants. Such data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may serve as an example of all such seed-gathering expeditions.

361 There were three major Wukchumni settlements: Diapnuša, Gutsnumi, and Hoganu, in order of their respective importance (Local Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). The most promi-
622 nent chief about 1870-1890 was Muṭo´ñi,[140] who had headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménage at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter Wa´chet were born and raised. One of the winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father. When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people thought of going to gather seeds. This would
221 be about May after the Snake Ritual had been
166 held. The chief decided when to move; he would
621 call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[141] It was not necessary that all families go at exactly the same time, nor did they have to wait until the chief himself set out. But all

[186 837]

[139] While N.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[140] Consistently pronounced matsu´ñi by J.B.

[141] In two myths recorded by Dr. Newman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prologue (cf., Gayton and Newman, 1, 89).

Y [P. 1259] Western Mono NS25

769 When the funds were accepted, the re-
431 cipients had the opportunity to indulge in
437 trading on this one- to three-months' loan and to make among themselves, and probably with the coast traders beyond, more than the 100 per cent they had guaranteed to return.

If, at the time of the ceremony, the full amount was not made up, as much as possible was returned. The chief held the accounts, and as much cash as possible was contributed by his subchiefs (tuye'i) in an effort to meet the demand: the subchiefs were obligated to help make up this deficit, whereas ordinary citizens were not. If there was still a shortage of
Y actual money, it was equated in commodities.
[224] Thus several hunters would be dispatched to get
[558] deer, or any available game. (The Gawia were laughed at for always supplying ground squirrels on such occasions.) And women were called upon to make up quantities of acorn meal. However, these foods were not brought with the money but were sent to the host tribe just before the ceremony, and the hosts bought the food as part of their needed supplies while the money went over to the recipient tribe to help meet the shortage. The collecting of food to be sold in this manner was called ka´suwaš.

Y Another method of raising money was for
[756] the recipient tribe to enter its shamans in the Shamans' Contest. These men would be paid by the host tribe, and while they retained part of the payment for themselves, their singers, and their winatums, a good portion (what percentage I could not determine) went to their chief.

Furthermore, the gifts received at the finale of the ceremony could be sold on the spot, taken home, given away, or used as payment on borrowed money.

This whole method of money exchange was
Y not necessarily carried out between tribes, but
[426] might be an inter-person affair. Thus a mourner, to raise money, would lend sums to several individuals in order to receive interest from each. Such lending was of normal occurrence in Yokuts life, but the heightened need for money at a mourning ceremony emphasized the practice.

Both sexes contributed in all affairs wherein money was called for: women acquired money by selling baskets, blankets, pots, mats, etc., to each other or to men.

Y

Reciprocity

769 The washing functions at the close of a mourning ceremony were traditionally arranged between certain families of certain tribes. But while the actual washing was a between-family function, the whole tribe of the washers was
● Y regarded as reciprocal to the whole host tribe
M in the entire function.
769 The pairs of Wukchumni and Waksachi fami-
● 648 lies who stood in this reciprocal relation were
767 named by J.B., and corroboration of some of

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
 Wesley Map NS25

V M 769 648 767

them later came independently from Waksachi informants.

Wukchumni	Waksachi
Čiwenyi's family (chief)	Bill Osborn's family (chief)
J.B., his mother and brother	Bill Tyner's family
Jim Hangton (Pohot family)	Bob Osborn[275]
Mollie Lawrence	Tom Bacon
Walai (winatum)	Sam Osborn (winatum)

Sometimes, J.B. said, a chief's family would wash two or three other families, not necessarily all acting chiefs, but of chiefly lineage.

The reciprocal pairs of tribes were listed by J.B.; statements of other informants are initialed.

Wukchumni-Waksachi	Gawia-Yokod
Wukchumni-Patwisha (secondarily)	Wolasi-Telamni
Wukchumni-Yaudanchi (J.P.)	Choinuk-Chunut
Waksachi-Entimbich (secondarily)	Tachi-Nutunutu
Waksachi-Michahai (secondarily)	

The families who came to wash the mourners brought with them the special washing baskets and new clothes in which to dress the released mourners. These, after they were washed, dressed, and in receipt of the washing baskets, paid the washers either with cash or with gifts of valuable objects. Informants seemed to think that this exchange was an equal one; at least in theory neither washer nor washee was a gainer.

Organization and Administration

769 648

The host tribe, the reciprocant tribe, and the financial associate tribe by no means comprised all the persons present at an Annual Mourning Ceremony. Anyone who wished was welcome to come as a spectator, and these were many. Interchanges of festivities took place between the following tribes, from whom attend-

[275] See the Waksachi account of a recent mourning ceremony wherein Entimbich people served as washers because "the right people" [the Wukchumni Pohots] were not there.

769 anits might appear at any ceremony: Wukchumni,
● 644 Gawia, Yokod, Yaudanchi, Tachi, Wechihit,
Choinuk, Chunut, Telamni, Wolasi (all Yokuts);
also Waksachi, Patwisha, Entimbich, and Wobo-
nuch, the last two but recently and rarely (all
Western Mono). (It is to be noted that the
[578] hostile Tachi and Nutunutu were omitted from
the list as given by J.P.; the list is corrobo-
rated, of course, by other informants and much
indirect evidence.)

When, in 1819, Estudillo traveled through Yokuts territory, he found members of the following tribes in attendance at a mourning ceremony at Chischa, a group neighboring to or in Wukchumni territory:[576] Choinuk (whose "captain and greater number of inhabitants ... were at Chischa 8 leagues away"), Apalame (in foothills but exact locality uncertain), the Nutunutu, and the Telamni (of whom only 14 old women and 9 old men had remained at home). (The Chunut, however, and some Wowol had gone south to attend a similar ceremony at Buena Vista rancheria in the southern end of the valley.) Undoubtedly representatives of other tribes were there of whom Estudillo naturally remained unaware since this was the first entrada into the Central Foothill area.

769 The organization and administration of the
624 ceremony lay in the hands of one or two of-
571 ficials who functioned only on such occasions,
the yate"; or "dance managers." Not all in-
formants agree whether this was a regular of-
ficial or not; perhaps only larger tribes had
need of them. They were the "bosses" of the
winatums who, both male and female, were worked
to the utmost in their responsibility of pro-
viding shelter, water, firewood and, above all,
[417] sufficient food for the crowds. Around the
assembly space were erected long shades, with
back screens if needed, under which the visi-
tors camped in tribal clusters. Theoretically
the reciprocants[577] were camped opposite the
hosts, the other visitors at each end; infor-
mants were indefinite as to how far this plan
was followed. In the families of the winatums
all members helped: the older winatums saw
that there was sufficient food and generally
directed activities, while their sons supplied
wood and water and carried messages, and their
wives and daughters prepared and cooked food.
The visiting winatums, particularly those of
the reciprocants, helped also, but the hosts
paid for their services just as they paid their
own winatums. The preparation and organization
175 of these affairs for a large tribe like the
769 Wukchumni were no mean task. Estudillo speaks
of this at Chischa.[578]

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[576] Gayton, Estudillo, 73-75.

[577] Ceremonial or "washing" reciprocant tribe, not the financial reciprocants.

[578] Gayton, Estudillo, 74.

231 825 deer continually so the bird might be fed deer liver. When it was mature, "all the Tokelyuwich people got together and paid her to let it go."

There was no person with Bear totem at Maštinao, hence no Bear redemption or Bear Dance.

[787] The inherited animal must be dreamed of to be of supernatural aid. "The Tokelyuwich dream of Eagle, the Nutuwich about L:m:k [Falcon]" (Mo.).

Reciprocity at Mourning Ceremony

616 ●649 Intertribal reciprocity functioned at the Chukaimina mourning ceremonies. Informants named Choinimni as the reciprocant (ki´'i), since the moiety division was also followed by them -- Tokelyuwich of Choinimni washing Nutuwich of Chukaimina, etc. It was also said that Michahai sometimes washed the Chukaimina, but under what circumstances I could not discover. Since the Michahai did not segregate by moiety, the function was presumably an interfamily one. The real question is whether the totems of the washers and washees were the same (as with Michahai, Waksachi, and Wukchumni) or different (as with the Choinimni) when controlled by moiety dichotomy.

CEREMONIES

Mourning Ceremony

769 According to P.M. the Chukaimina held an annual mourning ceremony which lasted seven days. What occurred during the week he could not say (presumably only the morning and evening ritual singing and wailing) because the Shamans' Contest did not take place until either the day before the washing or on the last day after it [informants quite uncertain]. On the seventh day (Sunday) the washing ritual, which was primarily intertribal and secondarily intermoiety, was followed by the Shamans' Contest [Huhuna ?], and at night by the shamans' entertainment dances.

Various Ceremonies

796 Ceremonies which the informants would be expected to know, they seemed to know only by hearsay.

The Huhuna Dance, P.M. said, was done by a man who had a whistle, he sang, his dress was all feathers. There was no one up here who did it, nor any Wechihit or Toihitcha. "It came from Wukchumni way."

Names of Yokuts ceremonies were given thus by Mo.: Mourning ceremony (duni´ša); crying ritual (aha´na); washing ritual, either at

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 143 b]

Choinimni

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 131 The Choinimni occupied land along Mill Creek from the junction of its north and south forks to its union with Kings River (see Local Map D). Above them on Mill Creek were the Entimbich, a mixed Yokuts and Mono tribe, and the Michahai, a basically Yokuts tribe who shared Squaw Valley with the Chukaimina Yokuts. From Sycamore Creek on Kings River, where Apa'wič was the Wobonuch frontier village, the Choinimni held both sides of Kings River as far west as Hughes Creek and perhaps a little beyond, where the Toihicha took up the north side of the river. On the south bank the Choinimni territory continued to Kipai'yu, their last village, which was fairly close to Centerville; there Aiticha land began on the south side and, on the opposite side, now somewhat west and south, were the Wechihit. This area is somewhat larger than that indicated on Kroeber's map.[1] The data for Mill Creek, I think, are wholly trustworthy: that is the locality P.D.W. knew best. His eastward extension to Sycamore Creek fits with Jeff Mayfield's statements for about 1850-1860.[2] On the west, Centerville as the eastward limit of Aiticha territory was a point on which P.D.W. was insistent; his location of Kipaiyu, however, may be incorrect, Kroeber's location being perhaps more exact. This still leaves it possible for the Choinimni to have dominated the river on the south side for some distance, that is, to about Centerville.

649 177 Prior to 1860 the social relations between the Yokuts and Western Mono were not so casually friendly, much less so intimate, as they have been in recent years since the two groups were forced into mutual contact by white 439 domination of their country. In the 1850's the Choinimni carried on trade, through a few individuals who seem to have been professional

[1] Handbook, pl. 47.

[2] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 15.

[P. 153 b] Dumna

DUMNA

103 5. huku ktuktu: 1/2 mile south of no.
6. ka oso: village at Firebaugh where
361 "everyone" used to go for salmon fishing
7. če yao: salmon camp above no. 6
8. če šao: salmon camp above no. 7
9. a tbu: main Dumna village at Millerton

The following were not located: 10, čo ''omtːlao; 11, ya pːk'nao; 12, yːmšu; 13, ho suniu; 14, če pnao; 15, tːne lao; 16, kočo yu; 17, ti'če niu; 18, hogo nːlao; 19, hutu nːlao; 20, ko wačko čo; 21, taka tipao; 22, teː ninao; 23, čamxːtnäiu; 24, paxːkčiu; 25, šo koiyu; 26, woto tiu; 27, co honoːno; 28, ča tːlao; 29, hotoi yiu; 30, tubaudibao; 31, tiše niu [no. 17?]; 32, nepːnwa šu; 33, šišː lu [Table Mountain?].

The Northern Foothill Region in 1851

114 The tribes at the eastern edge of the
648 northern San Joaquin Valley, along the San Joaquin and Fresno rivers where they debouch from the foothills, were dislocated drastically by the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. The formation of this battalion to subdue the Indians of the San Joaquin Valley foothills climaxed increasing hostilities between the native owners and encroaching white settlers. Lafayette H. Bunnell, a physician accompanying the group which first entered the Yosemite Valley, included in his interesting and sympathetic book on the Yosemite and Indian War of 1851 some references to the Northern Foothill Yokuts.

101 The Chowchilla were believed to be the
114 ringleaders in resisting white domination, and
648 their name at that time was used to cover native groups which lived on the Fresno and San Joaquin rivers, as a dialectic difference was recognized between their speech and that of the tribes to the south on the Kings and Kaweah rivers, who were called collectively Kaweah.[28] (Or so do I interpret Bunnell's usage of the names "Chowchilla" and "Kaweah.")

648 The outstanding figure in the conflict was one José Rey, a "Chowchilla" chief whose assistant was Tomkːt, the father of our Dumna informant, B.W.[29] After José Rey's death, Tomkːt and Frederico went down to the Kings River people for help; there the local chiefs advised them to meet the terms of the white soldiers.[30]

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[28] Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite.

[29] B.W. represented himself as Dumna (Tumna) to me, as "Chowchilla" to Dr. Stanley Newman. As I have no reason to doubt his statements and have no contradictions from his Kechayi step-relative, I have kept his material under the Dumna label.

[30] Bunnell, 140-141.

[P. 159 a] Dumna

787 He saw sloping hillsides with trees on them, and everywhere there were hundreds of people. He could see directly in front of him and well off toward the right, but to the left he saw nothing. On that side he just saw Missionary Y's back where he was walking off toward the left and disappeared.[46]

B.W.'s relatives came up to welcome him and they told him to stay with them now. But he refused, saying that it was not yet time for him to live in heaven. He did not see God anywhere in heaven, but he could hear him talking. Everything was green there.

When B.W. ended he added, in the prayerful manner in which the sun, water, morning star, etc., are addressed, "God is with me all the time and makes me well."

Beginning of White Occupation

773 After narrating the Dumna creation myth, B.W. added a coda of his own:

Then God dropped acorns, manzanita, and all the seeds that were needed. In the spring the salmon came, were dried, and were taken home. On the Sacramento [River] it was just the same. The Indians moved around everywhere at this time, went anywhere to pick acorns. Everything was loose [free] The [Dumna] people camped along the river [San Joaquin] all the way down to Firebaugh.[47]

173 Then he continued his narrative:

● 649 Then white people came, about seven or eight miles up Madera Creek. They wanted to

[Text Continues Top of Page 159b, ---- Analyst]

KECHAYI

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS AND LOCALITIES

649 Tribal areas, localities, and sites were not obtained from E.M. Her information on tribal relations corroborates the statements of others that close contacts between Yokuts and Western Mono date only from about 1860 onward. Since her childhood, and particularly since the Ghost Dance of 1870, intercourse has been more facile between the Mono and Yokuts groups on the western slope of the Sierra [826] Nevada. When people gathered at Table Mountain for the Ghost Dance, the Eastern Mono would

[Text Continues bottom P. 159b]

[797] [46]B.W. described Missionary Y as "a lover of the Indians' money." He was always asking for money which he took away to a near-by town. B.W. said he told his bby not to put money in the collection plate while Y was the missionary because "he loved the Indians, but he loved their money too much." In contrast, Missionary X, who superseded Y, was cited as a good man.

[47]Gayton and Newman, 28.

173 catch an Indian. The people on the Creek had
● 648 never seen any white people or Mexicans before;
[609] they were all scared and hid around in the hills. But some were caught, among them B.W.'s father, his brother, and himself A bullet had hit his brother. They went back into their village B.W.'s father was the headman and he asked the white men to leave their guns at home unless they wanted to have fights. The white men said they just wanted to make friends. Then his father called all his people together and told them to go down [where?] to the "white fandango." About twenty or thirty went and were given food, hats, and coats. Then others went down. They had been told to come once a month for presents.

A man [named Dover?] had one hundred and sixty acres of land where he wanted the Indians to be placed. All the headmen, Gashowu, Tachi, everybody, were sent for B.W. went with his father. The government wanted to make schools. Each morning two white men and [native] interpreters told them what was going to take place. Then a white man [Dover?] went over to Kings River to see the Indians there, but he got killed. The Indians called him Ca'was. The government sent no money at this time. But this was the beginning of all bad things -- sickness and drunkenness -- and all the Indians went.

435 On another occasion B.W. declared that the
648 high price of native basketry was due to the fact that some white land owners charged Indian women for the privilege of coming on their property to get the grasses and roots needed. He said that "over on Kings River" some men charged $2.50 a day for the gathering of basketry materials on their land.

KECHAYI

648 feel the wrists of their partners in the dance.
826 If they had hard wrists, the Mono knew they were Mono also; if the wrists were soft, the dancers were Yokuts. The Eastern Mono conversed with the Yokuts through their linguistic
[192] and cultural kin, the Western Mono people (Yayanchi and Posgisa). When these said the Yokuts were friends, the Eastern Mono left them alone.

648 E.N. recounted the story of a war with
462 Mono people which occurred before she was born.
222

Long ago [before E.N. was born] a number of Yokuts people from the Chukchansi, Kechayi, and Gashowu tribes were camping east of Friant. They had all gone there for acorn-gathering. It was the general practice that the men, immediately after the morning meal, went out to shake down the acorns. Leaving these to be collected by the women, they then went off for the day to hunt or fish. Toward sundown they returned and helped the women crack the nuts.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 160a] Kechayi

726 Now some Monachi [Eastern Mono] had come
● 618 over the mountains: their chief had told them
252 to "go over and kill those people like birds." While the Yokuts men were away, the Monachi surrounded the women's camp. One man came closer to spy. He saw the women cracking the acorns with their teeth and thought they were eating. He went back and reported this. Several times he came close to spy and each time saw the women putting the nuts to their mouths: he "thought they just ate all day long."

726 Next morning the Yokuts men went out very
648 early to knock down more acorns. They found a series of stakes, with feather bunches (so n.l) tied to their tops, which had been set up by the Monachi.[48] They knew the Monachi were near by, so they returned to camp and sent the women off. The women fled across the river [San Joaquin], leaving everything behind. The men went in pursuit of the Monachi. Their camp was located, and the Monachi were found asleep. Rushing in, the Yokuts killed all of them, save one man who smeared himself with his comrades' blood and pretended he was dead. Later on this man went back to his village and reported events to his chief. The chief was very angry; he determined on revenge.

Soon after that a Yokuts was working for a white man and was sent up into the mountains with some hogs. Some Monachi lurking about on this side of the ridge saw him; they came down to him and asked him who he was. When it was time for the Yokuts man to return to the valley, his employer warned him not to make the trip alone. But the man was anxious to get back home and went anyway. The Monachi were ambushed along the way and killed the man and his horse.

433 There was no mark of ownership on land or trees or seed-areas, but a woman would verbally designate certain trees or grass spots as hers and would "growl" if some other woman took the products therefrom ahead of her. Her com-
[578] plaints would be on the personal level, and would not be taken to the chief under ordinary circumstances. Sometimes arguments between
[624] women did grow into family feuds, which the chief attempted to control by counsel. There was a tacit, traditional ownership among families, and in the larger sense among tribes, of desirable land and its concomitant hunting, fishing, and seed-gathering assets. The family "ownership" operated to the extent that a young married woman continued to gather vegetable products with her own mother, rather than with her mother-in-law. This was regardless of
[428] matrilocal or patrilocal residence, and surely led to inheritance of such plots, even though inheritance was not defined in set terms by any Yokuts people.

619 It is clear from the account given above,
222 that people from several tribes might be camped

[48] The exact nature of these E.N. could not define: they may be such stakes as those the Tachi informant, N.G., had in mind when she described boundary markers (see Tachi, Pt. I).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P.1606] Kechayi

619
222 together to gather acorns, just as the Wukchumni (J.B.) mentioned for the seed-gathering camps in the Central Foothill region.

●648
439 In spite of the somewhat inimical relations with the Monachi, or Eastern Mono, a lively trade was carried on between Yokuts and Mono to exchange the products, natural and manufactured, of the valley and mountain regions. In this trade the Western Mono (Yayanchi, Posgisa, etc.) were the middlemen. The Monachi came over as far as Auberry, bringing rabbitskin blankets (ye´g:s), moccasins, rock salt (obo´ko), red and blue paint, and pine nuts. In exchange they received acorns, willow-bark baskets, and bead money (šil:´mki). The bead money the middlemen had received in payment from the foothill Yokuts, who, in turn, got it from the valley Yokuts in exchange for deer meat, oak wood (ti´h:n), and stone mortars and pestles, all of which were lacking in the lower lake and barren northern valley region.

The expeditions for trade were made by the Monachi: E.M. said "nobody from this side ever went over there." It is possible that the general direction of trade expeditions was westward -- Eastern to Western Mono, Western Mono to foothill Yokuts, foothill Yokuts to valley Yokuts,[49] and valley Yokuts to the Chumash and Salinan on the coast.

Localities

101
103
361 Few sites or localities could be named by E.M.; these have not been mapped.

aho´lu´i: a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry

owo´mniu: a Posgisa [?] village at the edge of Table Mountain

šu´mhun: a village at the junction of Pine Gold Creek and the San Joaquin River

šanwo´ganiu: Dumna village on the San Joaquin River [the Millerton Court House stood on the spot][50]

taka´tipao: Kechayi territory or pa´'an in general

ačo´po: unlocated

kumku´m:č: "humming bird place"; not located, a saloon there where Hai'ai':č: got liquor

koko´h:p: Sycamore

STRUCTURES

342 Dwellings.---The houses of the Kechayi were of the hemispherical thatched type. The floor (wa´'ai) was circular, about 10 feet in diameter, and excavated for about 18 inches.

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[49] See the Choinimni trips to the Tachi in Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 29 ff.

[50] Although E.M. calls the village Šanwo´ganyu, the word is actually Penutianized "San Joaquin" and is applied to the river also.

[P. 1759] Kechayi Chuckchansi

796 carried a long painted cane so people would
668 recognize him.[77]

With great effort, particularly in transporting infants and goods across the San Joaquin River, the Kechayi and others journeyed toward Table Mountain, to a site called Šu'kši, a small hill opposite Auberry where there was a spring (the place called Soganiu by Wobonuch informants). This was about May, 1872. Many people were there: there was much confusion in camping and in finding provisions.[78] Chiefs and winatums urged people not to quarrel or they would "die" and would not meet "the father."

The dancing took place in the evening, from about sundown to midnight, with intervals of rest. Sleeping, morning bathing, and daytime behavior were normal. Meat was not tabu.

[778] The dancers circled clockwise to the accompaniment of singing and elderwood clapper. In the center was a pole (wo'kon) on top of

[Text Continues TOP of P. 1756, --- Analyst]

CHUCKCHANSI

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101
131 Concerning the range of Chukchansi territory, Kroeber states that they held Coarse Gold
●648 Creek and the head of Cottonwood Creek.[79] Their northern boundary, which marked the end of Yokuts and beginning of Miwok tribal holdings, was at the Fresno River. But their friendliness and intermarriage with Miwok made the boundary a lax one, with each tribe claiming settlements on both sides of the river. Aplau and Yiwisniu were Chukchansi settlements, and they also held Hapasau near Fresno Flats as well as Chukchanau up on Fresno River. Miss Thrall lists the following sites named by her informants N.W., J.R., and C.D.

101
131 lulniu: Oakhurst, an old village site, the western boundary of the Chukchansi
103 gratniu: Picayune (N.W.), an old village site with only one sweat house
kat'an•u: Picayune (J.R.)
dalinao: a settlement where many Chukchansi had lived
dočimilpao: a settlement
baonaiu: a settlement

[648] [Text Continues middle P. 1756]

[77] Feelings on the west slope of the Sierra Nevada were hostile to the Paiute and Eastern Mono at that time.

[78] E.M. claimed dog meat was eaten there for the first time under pressure of starvation (see Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72); again her statement may have been a "prestige denial."

[79] Handbook, 481-482. Power's statement (Tribes of California, 370) that the Chukchansi were on the San Joaquin River between Whiskey Creek and Millerton does not agree with recent findings. Of course, it is quite possible that the Chukchansi have suffered some displacement and entirely probable that they had salmon-fishing privileges along the San Joaquin. -- A.H.G.

592 There were three to five persons in a house, J.R. continued, depending entirely on the number and condition of the family members. An average home consisted of a man and wife and their children. If there was an adult dependent, such as a sister or older relative, they would provide a separate little house for her close by. A widow and her children, or a widower and his, might also comprise a discrete household.

221 M. lived here at Picayune in a native-type house when she was a little girl. People moved around as the seed crops needed harvesting. They left their houses, light as they were, at home and made temporary shelters whenever [412] necessary for camping. There were bedrock mortars wherever they went, all around; most of these are filled in through disuse, now.

When a family permanently left a house, for no objectionable reason, another family [166] might move into it. People moved by families; whole villages did not move en masse.

Warfare

721 It was J.R.'s opinion that there was little intertribal warfare in the Fresno River 648 region.

The Indians did not fight each other unless drunk. The only way they killed other Indians was if a witch doctor killed lots of people: then they would kill this doctor.

A big bunch of Chukchansi wouldn't go out and fight a bunch of Mono. Maybe they would kill one man at Northfork [Western Mono locality]. This man maybe had not done right by some [726] Indians there. Maybe some Indian from Coarse Gold [Chukchansi] wouldn't like him. They would lie in wait for him along his way and shoot him from ambush. That is the only way they killed one another up here. A Chukchansi would kill another Chukchansi this same way.

[847] J.R. thought that an abnormal infant, a monster, might be killed, but he regarded this 727 as hearsay. A person who was mortally wounded was not put out of his agony: his relatives took care of him as best they could until he died.

726 An account of an engagement and the ensuing negotiations between Indians of Fresno River and the encroaching whites refers to the same encounter described by the Dumna, Bill Wilson, that of the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. At the time, J.R. was a baby in his basket; later his mother told him about it.[a]

The last fight was down here about ten miles, on the Fresno River. It was a long way up from Raymond. The Indians from all around

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[a] J.R. probably had not yet been born.

726 here [Chukchansi; Miwok and Mono too?] were fighting the white people. Some Indians were up on the mountainsides above the river. They got the whites down in the river canyon where they could roll rocks down on them. The whites could not see the Indians to shoot at them well, but they shot some anyway. The Indians got
727 some whites who were running away. They brought some home, made Indians of them. (There was at least one such.) This white man would fight with the Indians on their side. He was adult when they captured him; he was a soldier. He fought with the Indians after that, they said, and fought like the Indians.

That was about the end of the fighting.
728 These Indians didn't want to fight any more. The whites got pretty thick. A captain [Major
648 Savage?] came up from below with a group of white people. They gathered the Indians down this side of Fresno River and took them down to this [east] side of Madera where they gave them something to eat, flour, beef, etc., made them fight no more.

The chief that brought the whites up was Savage. He took the Indians down and gave them food. [J.R. doesn't know how long he kept them down there.] He promised them, before he died, he would give them land up here where they lived, what land they liked. They would stay there and keep the land. It would be the Indians' own home. He would give them maybe a wagon and two horses, and a plow and a harrow, and harness. They could work the horses, plow, etc. But he got sick and died. He was buried right there.[83]

He promised the Indians that, although maybe he would die, they would get these things after he died. He was going to give the Indians lots of money. But they didn't get it. Some white fellows found out. He [Savage] said to the Indians that all this land, California, belonged to the Indians. This was all written. A lot of judges have it written down that way now. But the Indians can't get it [the money] yet. They are giving the Indians a little pinch, out of the money belonging to the Indians

About twenty years ago a lawyer got information from some whites. He heard that the Indians had this money down there, and got them to contribute to pay for his going down and fighting to get it for them. But he hasn't got it yet.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

Daily Round

512 People rose before sunrise summer and winter, said N.W. If there was no meat to eat -- sometimes there wasn't -- the men went out to catch a rabbit or whatever could be quickly
[252] got. On their return, the meat was cooked and eaten with acorn mush.

264 All informants said that all members of a
512 family present ate simultaneously at meals.

[83] Savage was killed by a white man in a personal quarrel (Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite, 285).

[P. 235b] Western Mono NS25

Y W 601 The husband was termed loto´pnam (my husband), the wife, or any woman with whom a man had intercourse, yi´win. There were no changes in these terms after the birth of children.

Y W W 595 842 837 While chiefs often had two wives simultaneously in the same home, most men did not. Sterility was the most usual reason for taking a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife "got mad and went home," the man let her go. The majority of spouses, male or female, were not overly concerned if the husband or wife had relations with others.

W Y 602 586 When quarrels arose, the makši acted as peacemakers but, if they failed in their attempts to make a reconciliation, they remained on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai´kšina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu´šya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

W Y 606 583 586 591 The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the idea, but his statement is not compatible with opinions of other informants. He also said that a payment was made by a boy's parents to those of the bride, at marriage, but he could not define the amount or procedure. A girl was seldom married against her will, and afterward, "if she couldn't stand it," she went back to her parents, taking her children with her. Residence was usually patrilocal, but the couple had their own house near their parents-in-law.

W ● Y 582 ● [648] W Y [186] The Waksachi married among neighboring people to the north, south, and west. But they never married with Eastern Mono, even when a family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they didn't want the yo´otc coming over here to stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O. knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

Y W [587] B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives. There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two wives; they were not sisters. He thought the Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

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[174] This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 243 b] Western Mono NS25-
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distance, was called mai ''iwɨn by both Michahai and Western Mono. The concept seems to center in the upland area of Chukaimina, Michahai, Waksachi, and Wobonuch. It was used especially as a protective device, as it gave the owner a means of invisible escape. It was also used to move other objects, like the corpse in the anecdote of the malicious shaman.[106] The source (supernatural sponsor or dream helper) of this power could not be specified by S.O. But he gave two anecdotes concerning it.

1. A shaman [Etak ?] was assaulted early one morning. A lot of people went over to his house. He was expecting this. He asked the people to sit down. They surrounded him. He seized his talismans, jumped on a man in passing, and said "hwi'i'i'i'!" and flew off into the air. He was invisible. But, unfortunately for him, "he landed in a bunch of people." As soon as he struck the ground, he became visible. They shot him to death at once.

2. A Wobonuch, whose name S.O. could not recall, went out hunting. He saw a cinnamon bear which started to run him down. This man had many talismans. Just as the bear was upon him he called out, "hwi'i'i'i'i'!" and flew off. This he repeated several times until he neared a tall tree. He flew up into it and remained there until the bear lost patience and went off.

Miscellaneous Data

W
Y
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825
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The lineage totem animal (poša) might serve as a supernatural helper (ainɨč) in the same manner as any dissociated or random animal which appeared in a dream experience. In this way did Bear Dancers or Snake Doctors dream of their family creature. Such an experience was that of Hai'puš (Samson Dick, the Wobonuch singer) who had Fox (a'oča) as his poša. Incidentally, this was the only instance of a Fox lineage known to S.O.

Haipuš had a daughter who ran off with a white man. Her father and old Wililohi went after her; they separated and Haipuš went down a gulch where he saw people encamped. Two Wobonuch girls were there; he saw his girl and talked to her. She said she was satisfied and wanted to stay. Then the white men came up and threatened Haipuš with a gun, so the old man ran off. The men came right after him. In despair Haipuš called on Fox for aid. Instantly a fox appeared and, running a zigzag path between Haipuš and his pursuers, attracted the latters' attention. While the men were trying to shoot the fox, Haipuš escaped. And so, S.O. said, did the fox.

S.O. said, "All doctors talk about Coyote."

One day he and some companions were walking from Squaw Valley to Antelope Valley. He

[106] Cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393.

2: Kroeber E-5 (c> 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Kocheyali is mentioned by some of the Yokuts as another name for the Aliticha. This is not, however, their unanimous verdict. Two designations for a single tribe are also without parallel, apart from duplicate appellations based on names of places or terms of direction. There may therefore have been a distinct Kocheyali tribe in this vicinity. 101 131

With the Gashowu (plural Gashwusha) Big Dry Creek, losing itself in the plain near Fresno, and Little Dry Creek, draining into the San Joaquin, are reached. The Gashowu dialect also differs somewhat from the idioms of the Kings River group and approaches correspondingly to those of the northern foothill or San Joaquin group; but its general affinities are still with the former. The Chukchansi, for instance, complain of difficulty in understanding Gashowu, which fact, since their own idiom is very similar to Dumna, which in turn was spoken only a few miles from the Gashowu of Little Dry Creek, is significant. The Gashowu ranged to Fresno to gather seeds in spring or summer. Old maps show two Indian rancherias. One of these can be identified with Pohoniu, below Letcher on Big Dry Creek. On Little Dry Creek were Yokau in Auberry Valley, near Opnoniu, and Ochopou, the latter attributed also to the Kechayi. [197] [103]

TRIBES OF THE NORTHERN GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Toltichi (plural Toletachi), the "stream people," were the Yokuts tribe farthest up the San Joaquin and neighbors of the Mono. They are extinct. The recorded fragments of their speech show many distortions, not only from northern foothill but from all forms of Yokuts. It is doubtful whether these divergencies are due to faulty recollection or are real modications caused by prolonged contact of a small and remote mountain group with people of alien language, as in the case of the Paleuyami. It is even conceivable that the Toltichi were Monos, who mispronounced the Yokuts which many of them had partly learned. Tsopotipan, at the electric power site on the large bend of the river below the entrance of the North Fork, was Toltichi. [197]

The Kechayi (plural Keche'wali or Kichainawi) had the south bank of the San Joaquin for some miles above Millerton. A settlement of theirs upstream from this abandoned town and fort was Kochoyu, which seems to mean nothing more than "Kechayi place." Farther up they lived at Kowichkowicho. Below the Kechayi were the Wakichi, a tribe of the valley division. 101 103 131

The Dumna (plural Dumanisha) were on the north side of the San Joaquin, about opposite the Kechayi. Their range took in the country opposite Millerton; Table Mountain; the mouth of Fine Gold Creek; and Bellevue, which they called Dinishneu.

The Dalinchi (plural Da'elnashi) were a little off the San Joaquin. Fine Gold Creek was their territory. Here they inhabited Moloneu; also O'Neals. Dalinau, "Dalinchi place," was over the divide in the Coarse Gold Creek drainage.

The Chukchansi, Shukshansi, or Shukshanchi (plural Chukadnisha) held Coarse Gold Creek, an affluent of Fresno River, and the head of Cottonwood Creek. They are the northernmost of all the foothill tribes, and their border, Fresno River, where they adjoined the Miwok, was the farthest limit of all the hill Yokuts. They appear to have moved and scattered considerably, and, being on friendly terms with their Miwok neighbors, to have had no hesitation in entering their territory. This is probably the reason why the modern Chukchansi list among their settlements certain places across the Fresno River, such as Aplau and Yiwisniu, whereas actually it was the Miwok who [648]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

chief was accorded a certain precedence. It is possible that the head of every tribe was always of this division, and that the polarity of authority was more of a formal or ceremonial nature, a half-conscious reflection of the social bifurcation. At any rate, all historical and biographic accounts mention only one chief for each group.

Another position that was hereditary was that of the *winatum*, the messenger or herald. In a typical village the chief was supposed to have his house in the middle, a *winatum* at each end. When one of these heralds was sent to announce a festival he was paid by the invited guests. A chief in need of shell money for any purpose might send his *winatum* to chiefs elsewhere. These would gather their tribes, who would contribute what they thought proper to the occasion.

Two other offices were, if not hereditary, at least held for life. One of these was the clown, Yaudanchi *hiuta*, Yauelmani *hiletits*, Tachi *hohotich*, whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically. The *tongochim* or *tunosim* were the transvestite sexual perverts recognized by all North American tribes. Among the Yokuts they possessed one unusual privilege and obligation: they alone handled corpses and prepared the dead for burial or cremation, but were entitled to keep for themselves any part of the property placed with the body. Both at the immediate and the annual mourning ceremonies they conducted the singing and led in the dancing. It is clear, once the character of these persons' peculiarity is understood, that they were not delegated to their status, but entered it, from childhood on, by choice or in response to an irresistible call of their natures.

WAR.

Very little is known of Yokuts warfare. The tribes seem generally to have acted as units when conflicts arose. This should have given them some advantage of solidarity and numbers over most of their neighbors; but there is nothing to show that they were specially feared. Conflicts between tribes were apparently about as frequent as with aliens; and with many of their neighbors they were on friendly and even intimate terms. The Yokuts were evidently on the whole a peaceable people.

It has been said that they did not scalp. As an absolute statement, this is surely incorrect, for a myth tells how the prairie falcon after a battle hung the hair of his slain foes on trees, where it can be seen to-day as moss. But this is certainly a strange use to which to put trophies, and one arguing a lack of the usual Indian sense of such matters. There also appears to be no record of any Yokuts

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the entire area was occupied, although probably not by such great numbers as was the east side of the valley.

Concerning these west side tribes there is, of course, practically nothing known. Few hints as to their names and habits have been left by the Spanish missionaries in their records concerning the tribes taken from that territory. This lack of data is due to the fact that the entire west side was stripped of Indians upon the completion of the missions to the west, probably before the year 1806. With one or two exceptions, they never returned to that area, it being too open to the invasions of the Spanish, whose advances were not welcomed by those primitive people.

THE NORTHERN YOKUTS

One of the most marked characteristics of the Yokuts people concerned their organization into tribes, and their establishment of definite boundaries for each tribe. This is not common to all California primitive groups, nor to primitive groups in other portions of the United States.

Beginning at the northern end of the San Joaquin Valley the tribes were distributed roughly as follows: According to F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of North American Indians*, the *Yachikamni* Yokuts occupied the territory surrounding present Stockton. *Tchikimisi*, on the south side of the Cosumne River, and *Tawi*, on the lower San Joaquin River, were Yachikamni villages.

In addition to the Cosumne and Mokelumne who are by some authorities classed as *Miwok*, there were along the Stanislaus river the *Tuolumne*, although their name was given to a river further south. According to J. C. Frémont the *Auxumne* lived on the Merced River. The *Chulamni* are reported on the Stockton plains.

The first tribe about which anything definite is known is the *Chauchila*, for which the anglicized Chowchilla has been substituted. These people were the only warlike tribe of Yokuts. They ranged along the Chowchilla River from the San Joaquin River on the west to the Sierra foothills on the east.

The *Heuchi* claimed Fresno River from the San Joaquin River to the foothills. Their village of *Chekayu* was located on the north bank of Fresno River, about four miles below present Madera. Above the Heuchi, on the south side of Fresno River, were the *Chukchansi*, a foothill tribe.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Baños Creek. When we sit around our camp-fire he tells us lots stories 'bout his people.

"When I 'bout twenty-five years old I drive ten mules freight team to Stockton. I do that 'bout ten years. I go two or three times with mules freight team to Gilroy after freight. That way we go over Pacheco Pass. That time Pacheco Pass was bad road. We hate to drive mules team over that road. When Sopahno real old man he go with me lots times on them trips. He cook and help me harness mules. He tell me all 'bout West Side and 'bout his people there.

"One night we camp at Los Baños Creek, where old freight road cross. We camp early, so Sopahno take me down to old village place where he born. He show me where his father used to live. He tell me all 'bout his people.

"Sopahno said his tribe name was Ka-watch'-wah. They live on west side of San Joaquin River, from below Firebaugh 'bout five miles down to north Los Baños town, north where San Luis Creek runs into San Joaquin River. They live too in the west hills all along from Panoche to north of San Luis Ranch. San Luis Creek all belong to Kahwatchwa. Their home villages both on Los Baños Creek, one at hills and one at San Joaquin River.

"Sopahno's village, *Kah-to'-mah,* was 'bout two hundred yards from San Joaquin River [here Pahmit undoubtedly meant one of the sloughs west of the river] on south bank Los Baños Creek. We walk down there from our camp on old freight road in 'bout ten minutes. He show me his father's house. It was big hole in ground, lots bigger than our houses up at *Kuyu Illik* (Koo-yoo Ill-ik). We sit on side Sopahno's old home and he tell me how Spanish take him to Mission San Juan when he just 'bout twelve-fifteen years old.

"One morning early they all asleep when they hear big noise, lots shoot, lots yell. Lots Indian run away in tules. Spanish shoot, kill lots Indian men, women. They kill Sopahno's father. His mother run away in tules. Spanish take 'bout twenty-thirty Indian boys and girls.

"Sopahno stay at Mission San Juan 'bout twenty years. Then the priests tell Indian, 'You all go away from Mission. You all go back your homes.' Then all Indian go away from San Juan.

"Sopahno come back to his old home. There's nobody there. Indian all gone, Indian house all burned long ago. He

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 go horseback. He go up Los Baños Creek to hills. He go up river 'bout fifteen miles. There's no Indian anywhere. He go cross Fish Slough to California Ranch and see some Indian spear salmon in San Joaquin River. He talk to them Indian. They talk almost like his old mother and father. He understand everything they say. He tell them everything. He talk to my father. My father say, 'You come to our rancheria, live with us.' He live with us 'til he was old man, 'bout eighty-five maybe ninety years old. He die 'bout three days after first train go across railroad bridge on San Joaquin River. We all go down see that first train go across that bridge. When Sopahno see that he say, 'Now, I see everything. Now I'm gonna die.' And he did die after 'bout three days.

101 159 103 "When we go Gilroy, Sopahno tell me more Kahwatchwah names. They call Indian tribe to north *Ho-no-um'-ne.* Indian to south they called *Tucuyu.* They go from Kawatchwah south to *Apeche* (Ah-pe'-che) 'bout old Casa Blanca where Tranquality now. One their villages, name *Kahwahchu* [meaning [361] Grass Nut Place] was right where they had that Mexican town, Las Juntas, just where Fish Slough and San Joaquin River go together. White people put big dam there in San Joaquin River.

[161] 159 769 "When I little boy there just few them people left, maybe two, maybe three, live at Millerton with my people. Once, when I 'bout six, seven years old they want to go back to Kahwahchu to have one more big dance for dead people. They go. 'Bout fifteen, twenty our people go. My grandpa, Tomkit, he chief with Dumnas, he go. He help 'em make dance.. I go too.

"Old Chief Tucuyu, he go too. He been chief with that Tucuyu tribe before he go to missions. He want to see his old place once more. He live in mountains south of Bakersfield. He got place there he call Tucuyu too. When he go there from missions, he name it after his old people south Las Juntas.

● [648] "We stay there one week and have dance for dead people. Mexicans there make trouble for us. They 'fraid we gonna maybe steal cattle, maybe hurt somebody. So we never go back again. Tucuyu big people once. They talk just like my 159 people. Once used to be Kahwatchwah village at San Luis 361 Ranch, where we stop all night when we drivin' mules freight team. It by San Luis ranch house. They call it *Hah-na'-mah.* Pacheco Pass they call *Lees-na'-yah.* One night we stop our mules team at Salt Slough [due east of the present town of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 from Jose Antonio Aguila, a descendant of the Cantua after
103 whom was named the Cantua Creek in western Fresno County.

101 When the Indians on the Orestimba Creek were first ap-
103 proached by the Spanish and an attempt made to take them to
648 the mission, they showed unmistakable signs of hostility, which decided the small party of Spanish to leave them until the following year. The Priests held a long discussion with the chiefs. They pointed out the many advantages of going to the missions. The Indians refused to go, so the priests and soldiers planned to return the following spring with a stronger force and meet the Indians at the same spot where the conference was then taking place. This was agreed to by the Indians, as they pointed to the ground and said, *"Oh-rays-teem'-bah,"* meaning we meet here again. From this I was assured by Mr. Aguila that the present name of *Orestimba* was taken.

127 In going through many records relating to the Indians of the San Joaquin I have found only one reference to the Orestimba. In October of 1810 Father Jose Viader led an expedition westward from Santa Clara Mission to the junction of the Merced and San Joaquin Rivers. His chief account, with a few parenthetical notes by me, follows:

"Diario de una Entrada

175 "Before arriving to the junction of the Merced and San
127 Joaquin [site of the old river village of Hill's Ferry, three miles east of present Newman] we encountered some deep dry creeks on the NW [SW] side of the San Joaquin. In about 2½ leagues we reached the spot where we had the fight with some natives—we saw but one Indian here and that was at a long distance.

"This place has tall pines—[the upper Orestimba Creek has tall pines and evidence of a large Indian village, which is undoubtedly referred to here]—Flood waters do not reach here—but the soil is very poor—has sufficient wood and good pasture—but there is no rock nearer than the mountains three leagues distant to the West—[the father had his eyes open for a Mission site]. From here in the evening following the same distance we reached a place fronting the rancherie of the *Tona-la-mos* Indians — [could this be Pahmit's Honoumne tribe?]—about three leagues—The guide was of their tribe and called by him to come over, they would not come—said they

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"We made a fort, principally on account of our animals. The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and bread made of acorns, to trade.

"Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spainards 'mansitos', (tame) in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains.

"They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforseen moment the sins of the latter may be visited upon them. They are dark skinned, but handsome and intelligent Indians, and live principally on acorns and the roots of the tule, of which also their huts are made."

The last is one of the few complimentary things written by Frémont about Indians. A similar account of the Kaweah River Indians is given in the report of the survey of July, 1850, by Lieutenant George H. Derby. An extract from the Derby report follows:

"Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances, [Kaweah] a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tule. This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the Tache Lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity.

"It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra which joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake.

"The country, eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds, and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

"At this time each of the creeks were at its height, they are deep and four of them much wider than the Tule River. Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken timber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the water rendered useless; and we would have found it difficult to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighboring Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work carrying instruments and other property upon their heads and

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"I remember that in the fall of 1855 my brother, Anderson Akers, and I were riding along the east side of Tulare Lake when we met a group of about fifteen Indians coming toward us on the same trail we were traveling. The year before, the surrounding cattlemen and the U.S. Cavalry had rounded up almost all of the lake Indians and taken them to an Indian Reservation on the Kings River. A few had sneaked back and were hiding in the tules around the lake shore. These Indians knew we were their friends, or they would have hidden when they saw us coming. They stepped off the trail and stood quietly among the salt brush as we rode up, their baskets and bundles resting on the ground.

"We were within ten feet of the closest Indian before my horse saw them. He probably smelled them before he saw them. Anyway, the first thing I knew he almost jumped out of his skin. He landed in the brush about six feet off the trail and snorted like he had seen a ghost. He came the nearest thing possible to unloading me right there in the trail. If I hadn't pulled leather for all I was worth, that is exactly what he would have done. I hadn't seen an Indian until after he landed.

"We talked with the Indians for a few minutes. They were very anxious about the Cavalry, but we assured them there was none in the country. It was very cold and they were bundled up in rabbit skins. Their faces were about all you could see of them. The brush hid their legs, which were the only bare part of them.

"As we left the Indians and rode on along the trail I looked back. Although they were less than fifty yards away, I could scarcely distinguish them, and wouldn't have distinguished them at all if they hadn't been moving. They were as excited as Indians get, waving their arms, laughing and talking to each other. Several times one of the grown boys would jump high into the air with his hands clasped in front of him like he was hanging on to a saddle horn, and land in the brush five or six feet off the trail. It was easy to see what they were laughing and talking about."

THE PLAINS PEOPLE

The Plains Culture is probably best represented by the *Chauchila* tribe, which ranged in what is now known as Madera County. This tribe has been known since its earliest contact with white people for its hostile attitude and horse stealing tendencies.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

tendencies. It is entirely in keeping with what is known of primitive cultures that this should be characteristic of a plains people. Only one who has been afoot upon the broad San Joaquin Plains before the days of well water can appreciate the tremendous importance of a horse to such people.

During the time when salmon were running they undoubtedly stored up considerable supplies of the dried flesh of these fish and it is probable that they had permanent villages upon the eastern bank of the San Joaquin River, where fishing was carried on at all times.

From the San Joaquin River to the Sierra foothills was a distance of about thirty miles, all of which was dry and barren plains that made quite difficult the problem of gathering and transporting acorns during the season in which they were ripe.

The antelope surround was probably a regular practice among these people, as was quite likely also the jack rabbit drive. Consequently the plains tribes used rabbit and antelope skins to a considerable extent. Their equipment was of a more mobile nature than that of the river tribes, but was constructed of materials somewhat similar.

The plains lying between the San Joaquin River and the Sierra foothills were roamed by countless antelope. There were many elk along the river. But the hunting of these animals was a very uncertain venture when the hunter was afoot. There was no more valuable aid for which the Chauchila Indians might have wished than a horse. As a consequence, when the Spanish first came with horses and when the American explorers and settlers arrived, they soon came to call these people "the horse-thief Indians."

The following quotation from Frémont's *Memoirs* will give the reader a definite idea of the behavior of these people. This account shows very clearly how similar in behavior were the plains people of the San Joaquin to those of the Great Plains of the middle west:

"December 19, 1845. In a few hours we reached a beautiful country of undulating upland, openly wooded with oaks, principally evergreen, and watered with small streams which together make the *Mariposas* River.

"Continuing along we came upon broad and deeply-worn trails which had been freshly traveled by large bands of horses, apparently coming from the San Joaquin Valley. But we heard enough to know that they came from the settlements on

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the coast. These and indications from horse-bones dragged about by wild animals, wolves or bears, warned us that we were approaching villages of Horse-thief Indians, a party of whom had just returned from a successful raid. 175

"Immediately upon striking their trail I sent forward four of my best men, Dick Owens and Maxwell and two Delawares. I followed after with the rest of the party, but soon the Indians signs became so thick, trail after trail coming into that on which we were traveling, that I saw we were getting into a stronghold of the Horse-thieves, and we rode rapidly forward.

"After a few miles of sharp riding, a small stream running over a salty bed, with clumps of oaks around, tempted me into making an early halt. Good grass was abundant, and this spot not long since had been the camping ground of a village, and was evidently one of their favorite places, as the ground was whitened with the bones of many horses.

"We had barely thrown off our saddles and not yet turned the horses loose, when the intermittent report of rifles, in the way one does not mistake, and the barking of many dogs and sounds of shouting faintly reaching us, made us quickly saddle again and ride to the sounds at speed.

"Four men were left to guard the camp. In a short half mile we found ourselves suddenly in front of a large Indian village not two hundred yards away. More than a hundred Indians were advancing on each side of a small hill, on the top of which were our men where a clump of oaks and rocks amidst bushes made a good defense. 175 609 648

"My men had been discovered by the Indians and suddenly found themselves in the midst of them, but jumped from their horses and took to the rocks, which happened to be a strong place to fight from. The Indians were shouting at them in Spanish, and the women and children at the village howling at their best.

"Our men were only endeavoring to stand them off until we could get up, as they knew we would not be far behind. The Indians had nearly surrounded the knoll and were about getting possession of the horses when we came into view. Our shot as we charged up the hill was answered by the yell of the Delawares as they dashed down the hill to recover their animals and the report of Owen's and Maxwell's rifles.

"Owens had singled out the foremost Indian, who did not go any farther up the hill, and the others drew a little back

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

175 towards the village. Anxious for the safety of the men left behind, I profited by the surprise to withdraw towards our camp; 609 checking the Indians by an occasional rifle shot, with the range 648 of which they seemed to think they were acquainted.

"They followed us to the camp and scattered around among the rocks and trees, whence they harangued us, bestowing on us liberally all the epithets they could use, telling us what they would do with us.

"Many of them had been Mission Indians and spoke Spanish well. 'Wait,' they said—'*Esperate Carrajos*'—'wait until morning'. There are two big villages up in the mountains close by; we have sent for the Chief; he'll be down before morning with all the people, and you will all die. None of you shall go back; we will have all your horses'.

175 "The Horse-thief tribes have been 'Christian Indians' of 648 the Missions, and when these were broken up by Mexico the Indians took to the mountains. Knowing well the coast country, and the exact situation of the Missions where they had lived and the ranchos and the range which their horses were accus- [262] tomed to, they found it easy to drive off the animals into the mountains, partly to use as saddle-horses, but principally to eat.

"In time they became a scourge to the settlement. The great ranges which belonged with the ranchos not only supported many thousands of cattle, but also many hundreds of horses which were divided into bands, '*Manadas*'. The Indians were the vaqueros or herdsmen who attended to both herding the cattle and breaking in the colts.

"The Californians had great pleasure in their horses. On some ranchos there would be several hundred saddle-horses, in bands of eighty or a hundred of different colors; *Alazan* (sorrel) always the favorite color. Deprived of their regular food, the Indians took to the mountains and began to drive off horses. Cattle would not drive fast enough to avoid the first pursuit. In their early condition they had learned to eat wild horse-meat and liked it. Familiarity with the whites and the success of [181] their predatory excursions made the Horse-thief Indians far 184] more daring and braver than those who remained in fixed villages, whether in the mountains or on the valley streams which carried the name of the different tribes—The *Cosumné, Mokelumné*, and *Auxumné* (Merced) Rivers. Probably all the streams if their Indian names could have been known received their names from the small tribes who lived upon them.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

648 Primitive tradition contains numerous mention of peoples living in continual fear of invading forces. This is the old story of humanity from the present time back beyond the very beginning of history.

The story of an invading host spread like wild-fire. In silent terror a few belongings were snatched from their accustomed places. Light packs of food were prepared and women and children fled to the hiding places about them. After the invaders were gone, these people returned, often to find their homes in ashes and all of their belongings destroyed.

Occasionally they were caught without warning and had no time in which to flee. They were then attacked in their dwellings. The tremendous confusion and hurried flight on such occasions is one of the most powerful forces in developing and controlling the instincts of primitive people.

861 White people are surprised to find that Indian children
648 obey their parents without question and that they do not cry, except upon the most exceptional occasions. These characteristics are the direct growth of the conditions which have just been mentioned. The Indians of the San Joaquin Valley were much like their brothers, the wild animals, whose young by instinct will remain perfectly quiet when hidden by their mothers, even though they are almost trampled upon. Mere anxiety on the part of the parent is infectious.

Indian children were reared upon stories that recounted the many invasions which the tribe had suffered, and which kept ever before them this peril which might at any moment envelop them. They had no way of knowing that they would be safe for any certain length of time. The lookout on a nearby peak might at any moment signal that an invading force was distant only a few hours', or a few minutes' travel.

In this way the protection of the parent was much more a real necessity to the young child, to the young man and young woman and even to grown individuals, than is the case among civilized races. Because he knows that it is made safe for him to travel to almost any place he pleases, the young boy of today does not have this feeling of dependence toward his parents. Because of this the children of white parents are more prone to disobey than the children of primitive people. Undoubtedly this close dependence and fear of a common enemy was responsible for the fact that it was seldom if ever necessary to whip Indian children.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

THE RAINMAKING CEREMONY

789 Few San Joaquin Valley grain farmers, who have paid white rainmakers to produce rain for their withering crops, 791 know that rainmaking was a well established profession long before grain crops were planted in the San Joaquin. But such was the case, for there are numerous data recording that the business of rainmaking had become a profession among the Yokuts tribes. These data extend from one end of the San Joaquin Valley to the other, and also into the northern portion of Santa Clara County around the present towns of Mayfield and Mountain View, which is generally held to be a part of primeval Yokuts territory. This work has been carried on down to date. Not many years ago, a prominent *Tachi* Yokuts rain doctor passed away at Santa Rosa Rancheria, south of Lemoore. His Tachi name was *Si'-nel,* but he was known to surrounding white settlers as Indian Bob, the Rain Dancer. [764] While this manuscript was being completed, Clarence Atwell, the last of these Yokuts doctors, died at the same rancheria, his dance costume being buried with him.

Because of the continued scarcity of water in the territory that was once Yokuts and the great efforts being made to provide more of it, the Rainmaking Ceremony is of more interest to present San Joaquin Valley residents than anything else concerning the Yokuts.

Dressed in his feather skirt and headdress, his body painted dead black and striped with bright white, the Yokuts rain- [292 302] maker surely was a weird figure. He danced in the night about a fire and sang his magic song. In this he was aided by *Ahanich,* paid singers, and was assisted by other rain-desiring tribesmen.

789 To the surrounding white settlers of the 1860's, whose dry- ing crops needed rain more than did the Tachi, the Rain Doctor 648 appeared only as a dangerous Indian Chief, inciting his people to attack the whites. From John Ezra, of Kings River Island, near Laton, I learned that it was because of this fear on the part of the whites that the Tachi for a long time gave up their rain dances.

789 Connected with the rain making ceremony was a magic stone, which, when properly invoked by song and dance, could 778 produce anything from a sprinkle to a cloudburst. It could bring luck in fishing and could bring water into dry stream-channels. A photograph, reproduced in this volume, shows

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER XIII

INDIAN STATEMENTS

PAHMIT'S STORY

Almost all of the material in the preceding sketches concerning San Joaquin Valley Indians has been taken from statements made by aged Yokuts Indians, or by aged white pioneers who settled among the Yokuts before they were disturbed by white people. To present an intimate picture of the Yokuts it is best to include a few stories just as they were related to me by aged Indians.

The following self-explanatory statement was taken from Pahmit in 1928:

I born *Kuyu* (Koo'-yoo) long time 'go. Kuyu Illik [Sulphur Water] Indian village bank river white man call San Joaquin. Village at place white man call Fort Miller where soldiers march.

My people belong *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) tribe Indian. I don't know how much old me. White man say I more than hundred. I know when soldiers, Major Savage come Kuyu Illik make Indian sign paper, [1851], I young man 'bout twenty-one, twenty-two years old.

My people live happy 'till soldiers come. We have plenty eat. We have nice dry houses live in. We don't fight. Lots our people live along river above Kuyu Illik. Lots antelope, lots elk, lots wild horses come river, drink below Kuyu Illik where Friant now.

My grandpa, *Tom'-kit*, chief all Indian tribe 'round Kuyu Illik. We want meat; he send two, three Indian; good shot with bow, arrow, get it. They hide in rocks by river, wait antelope, elk. Antelope come. They shoot six, eight nice fat ones. They shoot one each house Kuyu Illik. They let rest run 'way. We have all meat we want. When white man come, he shoot, shoot, shoot. Kill all antelope. Kill all elk. Then he bring cattle, make Indian buy beef.

When Indian get hungry, he go with gun shoot some quail, maybe cotton tail, maybe dove. White man 'rest him, put in jail. Now my people no keep gun. They no have rifle; they no have shotgun in house. When my people shoot, white man 'rest him.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 657 [461] Now white man at Washington pay me seven dollar haf, live one month. I can't do that. My people work; my boy work; all my grand-children work all summer; pick grapes; pick peaches; shear sheep. They no make 'nuf money live all winter. 'Fore Major Savage come, we eat plenty.

159 173 648 First white man I see come mine gold in river. They cut tree; split log; make long box; make dam in river. We watch 'em. We don't know what they do. Then river come high; wash 'em all 'way. Pretty soon two white men come make boat on river take white man across water. Then lots white man come mine gold.

After 'wile soldiers come, make big wood house for fight. They all got gun. They catch lots Indian. Some Indian get 'way. *Mokes* (women), children run 'way, sleep in mountain under rock, brush. My grandpa, Tomkit, tell soldiers, 'Put away gun; my people come in; they no like gun'.

Soldiers catch lots Indian man, boy. They make Indian man, boy stay place where they make wood house for fight. Soldier don't make wood house. Indian make 'em. Soldier make Indian cut trees, chop logs; give 'em saw; give 'em axe; make 'em chop, chop, chop; build big wood house for fight. White soldier call big wood house Camp Barbour. Sometimes Indian don't want work. Soldiers *make* 'em work. Soldier take long black snake mules' whip. They whip Indian on back. They whip, whip, whip. Two, three Indian die—whip 'em too much.

After big wood house done, soldier come with big man from Washington, sign paper with Indian. One time before Indian sign paper with white man, Major Savage come Kuyu Illik. He come horse back. He have blue clothes. He have six, seven men. They all have blue clothes. They all got gun; they all soldier. Major Savage he talk my grandpa, Tomkit. He tell him big father at Washington send him see Indians. He say we haf bring all Indian chief here talk big man from Washington. He say we haf bring all *Choinimne* Indian chief; we haf bring all *Nutunutu* Indian chief; we haf bring all *Chauchile* Indian Chief; we haf bring all Indian chief; fifty, sixty chief, Kuyu Illik, talk big man from Washington. Major Savage say Indian talk little bit. We know what he say all-right. My grandpa, Tomkit, talk rest our chief. They think that's bad business.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Then Tomkit talk Major Savage. He tell him, "It's summer now; it's hot; it's long way Kuyu Illik, Kings River, where Choinimne live; it long way Nutunutu Indian; lony way Chauchile Indian; long way *Kahwatchwah* Indian. Take long time see all them Indian. I think maybe take my men three, four weeks see 'em. They run long way; they sweat lots. Why you want us do this? What they gonna do that paper we got sign?"

I hear all this. Tomkit say, "You be next chief, Pahmit. You hear what white man say."

Then Major Savage he tell Tomkit. Major Savage, he say, "I big medicine man with big father at Washington. You haf do what I say. I hurt you if I want to. I make all your people die. I make all fish go out river. I make all antelope, all elk go 'way. I make dark. You do what I say, nothing hurt you. But you no hurt me. You shoot me with bow, arrow, I live. I do all thing I tell you 'bout. You shoot me with pistol, you no hurt me."

Major Savage have nice six shooter. My people never see six shooter before. They see rifle; they see pistol. One, two my people know how shoot 'em.

Major Savage put white handkerchief side oak tree. He load six shooter one, two, three, six bullet. He put powder; he put paper; he put bullet; he stand close tree. He shoot handkerchief, one, two, three, six time. Every time he make hole in handkerchief.

My people all stand 'round close, see. Major Savage load six shooter 'gen. We see him put powder, paper, bullet. Then he give our man. "Now, you shoot me. You shoot me; you no hurt me. You no kill me. Don't you 'fraid. You go 'head, shoot; you no kill me." Then he stand close our man. Our man shoot, bang! Then Major Savage he grab in air with his hand. He don't fall down. Our people look each other. They say he big medicine man. Then our man shoot 'gen. He shoot six time. Major Savage, he grab in air six time. Our people all come close, look. Then Major Savage hold out hand, open it. We see six bullet our man shoot. Major Savage catch 'em all his hand.

My grandpa, Tomkit, he see that. He b'lieve 'em. I see that. I b'lieve 'em, too. All my people see that. They all think Major Savage big medicine man. They all think they better do what he say.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 173 648 Then Major Savage he talk. He tell us, "Now you do what I say. You bring chief all Indian tribe here. You bring 'em here ten days now. You bring two Indian each tribe. You bring one chief; you bring one *moke* for me. I want one wife each Indian tribe."

My grandpa, Tomkit, he send men bring all Indian chief; tell all Indian chief bring one Indian wife Major Savage. Indian chief all come Kuyu Illik. They bring Indian wife Major Savage. I think they bring seventeen. I think some run 'way. I think seven stay work for Major Savage.

After all chief come Kuyu Illik, one, maybe two days, big man from Washington come with paper. Lots 'em come. I think they fifteen, maybe twenty horse-back soldier. They three soldier on four horses wagon. They stop wagon Kuyu Illik on big open place south my grandpa's house. All Indian crowd 'round, look. All chief set 'round on ground.

Some soldier take three big box out wagon. They put 'em in open place, each one up top. Then Indian get on top, way up high. He talk our people. That Indian belong our people long time 'go. When he little boy, Spanish preacher take him Mission at San Juan. At San Juan he learn read, write, talk like white man. Big white chief call him Charlie. Our people call him *Yo'-ho*. White chief talk him. Then Yoho talk us long time. He talk, 'n talk, 'n talk. He turn 'round, 'n 'round, 'n 'round on box. My people all hear him. He say we got give big Father at Washington all our land. We got go down valley, live. He say big white Father at Washington send us clothes; send us flour, send us blanket, send us horse. He say big white Father send us teacher, so our people go school like white man.

Our people no like that. They think all right send things. They no like go down valley. No acorn there; too many Indian there. They think have fight with Indian there. My grandpa, Tomkit tell Yoho. Yoho talk long time big white chief.

Then Major Savage he go wagon. He bring whisky; he bring tobacco. He tell all Indian set down, they gonna smoke. Major Savage fill tobacco pipe. He make one puff, he give pipe Indian. All Indian make one puff. All white chief make one puff.

Then Major Savage give 'em lots whisky. Then Yoho talk long time 'gen Our chief all set 'round, listen. Then they make sign mark on piece paper. *Co-toom'-se*, chief with *Chuck-*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Pahmit in 1929, aged about 100 years, by the wall of the old stone guardhouse at Fort Miller. Pahmit helped to build this wall about 1854.

chan'-se. He sign 'em. My father, *Dawk-taw,* he chief with Dumna tribe Indians. Some people call him *Tap'-pah.* He sign 'em. My uncle, To'-mas, he chief *Kit-cha'-ye* tribe. He sign 'em. Lots Indians sign 'em. Take long time. Then white chief go 'way.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 Major Savage go 'way. He go Kings River. White man
173 there shoot Major Savage like our man shoot 'im. Major Sav-
648 age he die. Ha! Ha! Why he no catch 'em bullets?

Then white man come; they mine gold in river. They shoot Indian. Soldier put Indian in jail; they whip Indian. They run all Indian 'way from village Kuyu Illik. They burn all Indian house.

They smooth ground where Indian house burn. They play music there. Blue clothes soldier march, march, march there. They make Indian dig dirt, mix mud; make adobe brick; make white soldier big house. White men call big house Fort Miller. They take Indian by tree over river. They hang 'em there; they cut rope and dead Indian fall in river. My grandpa, Tomkit, he tell white soldier, "You better look out." He tell white miner, "You better look out. Indian spirits no like you do this. Pretty soon bad things happen you."

Then high water come wash 'way all white man's store; wash 'way lots white man; wash 'way lots, lots Chinaman. Then pretty soon white soldiers all go away. My people think Indian spirit make 'em go. They glad. They dance. They
[165] sing. Not many Indian left. Lots Indian die whisky; lots Indian die bad white man sickness. Just few Indian left. Indian live Kuyu Illik 'gen. White miner still whip Indian; still shoot Indian.

Then by 'n by, white man all talk fight. They say long way off, white man shoot white man. Lots white man go long way off, fight. Then white soldier come back Fort Miller. This time white soldier pretty good man; they no shoot Indian, they no whip Indian too much. Some Indian work for white soldier; white soldier give 'em flour, give 'em tobacco, but Indian pretty near all gone. White soldier stay this time maybe three, maybe four years. Then all go 'way. I never see no more white soldier.

159 My father, Dawktaw, gone. My grandpa, Tomkit, gone. My uncle, Tomas, gone. I big chief now, but no got Indian tribe. Just me; just my sister left. My sister got one boy, got one girl. I blind; I no see. I no see maybe ten, fifteen year. I got one boy; he got three, four, baby. We work hard, we don't have 'nough eat. Big Father at Washington no send flour; no send horse; no send clothes; no send blanket, like white chief say when Indian sign paper at Kuyu Illik.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 and all of the Indians left the place. This was just after the
164 big water that the white people call sixty-two [flood of 1862]. They never lived at Watot Shulul again.

159 Nahalets' wife, *Hawtulu,* and a few of her people went to the old *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) village on the Burris ranch at Kings River. The chief there was *Pah-ko'-ake.* I knew him for a long time. Hawtulu died there when she was an old lady.

My people went to the old village at the "Fish" Rice Rancheria south of Farmersville. There my father took sick and died. We buried him there.

[103 361] Just a few months before I was born my father and mother lived at the old Chunut village of *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne) about four miles south of Waukena. This was the place where the big ditch is south of the Artesia school and where Mr. Sweet had the slaughter house. Mother had one child, a little boy. His name was *Wehpes* (Weh'-pees). White people called him Bill Foster.

159 While my parents were living there [1854], soldiers on
648 horseback came to take them with all of the other Lake Indians to the Fresno River Indian Reservation. None of the Indians wanted to go. But the soldiers hunted until they found most of the Indians. The soldiers beat the Indians with whips and hit them with their swords and ran their horses over them when they would not go. Some Indians were shot because they ran away. My mother said she saw twelve Indians killed. The rest had to go anyway.

It took about ten days to get all of the Indians together. The soldiers did not let them take time to carry any grub. Then it took four days to drive them to Fresno River Reservation. My mother and father both went. They carried little Wehpes all of the way. He was about two years old.

All this time the Indians only had a few things to eat. They ate a few mussels from the river and a few tule roots. Some Indians caught a few salmon along the San Joaquin river and ate them raw like they did the mussels and tule roots. About ten Indians died on the way. Three or four babies were born along the way.

When they got to Fresno River Indian Reservation there was nothing there to eat. The soldiers killed some cows and gave the Indians some acorns that had been gathered for two or three years and were eaten by worms.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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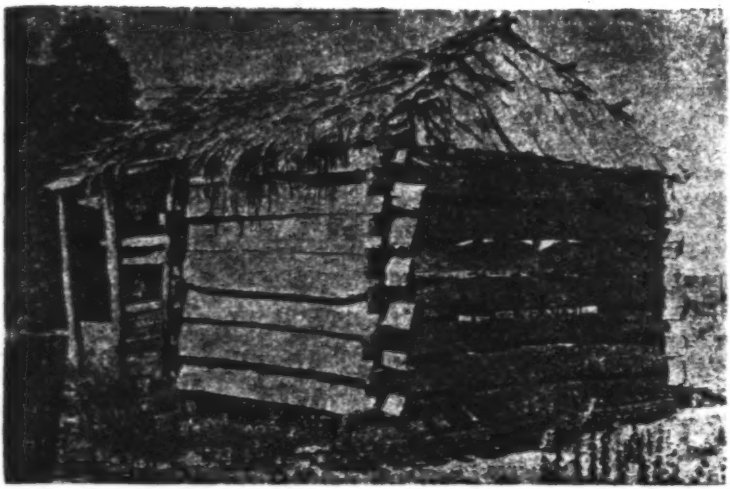

Split puncheon log fort built about six miles east of Visalia as protection against the Indians at the beginning of the Indian War of 1856. Colonel Thomas Baker, founder of both Visalia and Bakersfield, outfitted at this fort at the beginning of that war.

My father and mother were at Fresno River Reservation about two or three months. Then some of the soldiers took them to Fort Tejon. A wagon hauled some grub along, but the Indians walked all of the way. About fifty Indians went on this trip.

There were soldiers at Fort Tejon. It was not up in the mountains but was on the Tejon Ranch, west of the Headquarters. My father and mother worked awhile at Fort Tejon, but they did not like it there. None of our people liked it. They all wanted to go back to Tulare Lake.

Lots of the Indians sneaked away in the night, so one night, as soon as it got dark, my father and mother left. They went along the foothills and hid every day until they came to the Kaweah river. Then they came down to Watot Shulul, where Visalia is now. In a few days I was born. It was about a year after the soldiers took my father and mother from the old village south of the Buzzard's Roost at Waukena [1855]. My father and mother stayed at Watot Shulul until after the big sickness [measles], when all of the Indians left. My mother washed and my father cut wood for the Blankenships.

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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 We liked the Blankenships. They always treated us nice and
648 never cheated us.

Zac Blankenship was about three years older than me. When my mother washed, Zac used to play with my brother, Wehpes, and me. He showed us how to play marbles and we showed him how to play some Indian games. Zac told me once that I could swim before I could walk. He said that my mother used to wash at the creek back of the Blankenship house. My mother would put me in the water and bend down a
[868] willow limb for me to hold. She would go on washing and leave
[854] me there for a long time. Then she taught me how to swim. I do not remember this. Zac and his mother told me about it. But I do know that I could swim as early as I can remember.

YOIMUT'S STORY
THE LONEWIS

159 I was about six years old when we moved from Watot
769 Shulul to the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. My father died about two weeks after we went there. My mother washed for Mrs. Rice and for Mrs. Blankenship for a long time to get money enough to have the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis) for the dead people. At the Lonewis we have a big meeting and cry and dance for the dead people once a year. This Lonewis was at Sulawlahne the "Fish" Rice Rancheria. Lots of people were there; I think five or six hundred. Many of our people had died and there were lots of dead people to cry and sing for.

The first day of the Lonewis we call Monday now. All day the people came in from every direction. The *Teah* (Te'-ah) chief of the village, Sulawlahne, was named *Tepwuhtrah* (Teep-wuh'-trah). He was a ***Wowol***, a cousin to my mother. He had a brother, *El'-ke*, who lived there too. Tepwuhtrah had invited them all to come. He had sent his *Winat'-un* [messenger] to tell them when to come. This Winatun was my step-father, *Ah-ka'-um-ne*. He was a Wowol.

There were four Winatun at this Lonewis, two men and two women. One was a ***Kaweah*** man named ***Yah-pah'-kit***. One was a Chunut woman named ***Moos'-took*** and the other a *Choi'-nock* woman named ***Mun-oi'-let***.

The Teah, Tepwuhtrah, sat under a shade made of willow poles and covered with willow brush. He did not leave that place all day. All of the people went to see him first when they came. He told the Winatun where to fix their camp.

[Text continues on p. 230]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 This was a fine place to camp. I have been there since
166 and know it was close to the Artesia school house where the
361 steamboat used to land. The white people built a big canal right by the camp and Mr. Sweet had a slaughter house there the last time I was there.

There used to be a big village there, so my mother told me. [342] When we went there we saw lots of old, tumble-down dirt houses. I never saw any other dirt houses. Two of those houses were good, so we put our things in them.

We had a fine time at this place and my mother and step-father decided to make a home there and stay there all of the time. There were lots of fish in the creek and the lake was right close, I think not more than a half mile away. The village had belonged to my father's people, so we thought we had a right to stay there.

[251] My step-father and his brother caught lots of fish and we dried the meat. We fixed up the two dirt houses so we could live in them and we all felt as happy as could be. There were no other Indians there but the ones I told about.

159 We were at the camp about three months, until summer
166 was almost over. Then some men came along gathering cattle.
648 It was Pat Murray from Porterville and some of his vaqueros. He camped there for two or three days.

Pat Murray was mad at us. He told us we would have to get out and stay out. There was a Tule River Indian with Murray. He was a vaquero. He told us that Murray would kill us if we did not get out. He said that Murray was afraid we would kill his cattle.

We had not killed any of the cattle. There were lots of them around the Buzzard's Roost, but we had not killed even a calf. We would never kill them.

We felt very bad about this. Murray went away and we stayed about one week more. We felt so bad we did not talk to each other for two or three days. Then my step-father talked. He had been out fishing with his brother and when he came in he said they had decided to go to the Tejon ranch where some of his people lived.

I have always been sorry that we left Heuumne, because Mr. Blankenship told us afterward that we did not have to leave. He said that Pat Murray had no right to run us off. He did not own that place. Mr. Blankenship said that we should

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

have gone to see Mr. Crossmore, who had the right to that place. But we never knew it then, so we left.

The three men and my mother had worked about a week making a tule boat to fish from. We children had helped by carrying tules. It was a real good boat. They had fished from it a lot. The boat was about twenty-five feet long and eight feet wide. It was made of tules like the old-time Indians used to make them. They made it on the ground at the edge of the water. We called it *Tutoi* (too'-toi).

The tules were just tied into small bundles as long as the boat and about six inches through at the middle. The ends were pointed. A lot of these tule bundles were tied together. They made a big boat about three feet high. I think it took about twenty small bundles.

An extra bundle was tied along the top on each side so things would not lose off of the boat. The ends of the tule boat were higher than the middle.

In the middle of the boat a hole was made to spear fish through. It was a small hole about a foot across. We called it *kot-la'-um*. At the front end of the boat was a hole where they put the fish and ducks they caught out on the lake. It was about three feet square and a half foot deep. The men used to bring this place in full of fish and ducks. This hole was lined with tules woven together like a basket. We called it *traw-trawk'-oi*.

At the back end of the boat was another hole filled with mud. They built a fire on this mud and cooked fish and ducks while they were out on the lake. We called the fireplace *tri-ahn'-cut*.

Sometimes they stayed out on the lake fishing for three or four days. When they stayed out a long time on the raft they used to cut the fish open and smoke them over the fire and lay them on the raft to dry. When they came in the fish were almost dried. They used to cut the meat off the ducks and dry it the same way. They used long poles to move the raft around. We called these poles *iyahish* (i-yah'-ish).

When they came in with the boat we would all help to pull it up on the bank to dry out. When it would dry out it was very light. This boat carried all of us very easily. I think it would have taken that many more people.

Finally my stepfather changed his mind. He decided to go across the lake on the boat to *Chaw-lo'-win* on Atwell's Island.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 My mother found almost all of her relations there at Chawlowin. Her brother had his family there and two or three of her uncles were there, too. They had all come back to that camp from Tule River Reservation, where the soldiers had taken them from Tejon Ranch. They wanted to stay at their old home. These people did not go back to the old village at the 648 mouth of Deer Creek and White River because they were afraid the soldiers would come back and get them. They were hid in the tules in *tumlus* (toom'-loos) houses at the north side of the Island.

In a few days my stepfather's brother came to the camp. He had left his team and wagon on the land east of Chawlowin where he could look after them once in a while.

The tumlus house was a quick house to make. They cut it 159 in the green tules. We lived in one of these houses about three 342 months, until it was too cold to stay any longer. They were good houses when the north wind did not blow. Then we used to wake up with water in our beds. We would have to go to the higher ground until the water went back. The water in the lake got lower all of the time, so when we left Chawlowin it did not come in the tumlus houses any more.

We could not get anything to eat but meat and fish and 159 tule roots at Chawlowin. We had lots of fish. Some of the 262 men caught ducks in a string net on the end of a pole. That was 223 hard to do. They did it when the north wind was blowing. Then the ducks flew very slow against the wind, close to the tops of the tules. The hunter sat on a wooden seat almost at the top of the tules.. He had tules tied around him so that the ducks could not see him. Once my mother's brother caught a duck in his hands that way.

They caught ducks in the water with strings, too, but I do not know how they did it. I saw them take the ducks out of the strings, but I never saw them put the strings there. The men always did that.

Once in a while the men killed an elk at Chawlowin. There 159 were more there than on the land outside the lake in those days. 224 They shot the elk with bow and stone pointed *kots* [obsidian] [411] arrows. The arrows had a short loose wood point.

When they shot the elk it ran and rubbed against the tules to pull the arrow out. The back part fell out, but the front end stayed in. The hunters followed the elk. After awhile the elk was so sick they could catch him and kill him. I heard of the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

136 159 226 low in the creek. We called it *caw'-cuts*. White people call it sturgeon.

While we were at Chawlowin some white men put cattle 159 648 on the island. The water was low and they drove them across from the east. There were hogs there already, but they were wild. As soon as the white people found out we were there we began to have trouble. The tules were getting dry and we were afraid the white people would burn us out. So we all left. My mother and stepfather took us to Tejon Ranch. We went in his brother's little wagon.

YOIMUT'S STORY
OUR LAST HOME

159 361 166 From *Chaw-lo'-win*, where Alpaugh is now, we went to the Indian camp above the Tejon Ranch house. There were about two hundred Indians there. Some of them were *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) and two *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) who were related to my mother.

159 648 166 My mother had been at Tejon Ranch when she was first married. It was before the soldiers took her from Tulare Lake to the Fresno River Reservation. She was at Tejon about six months, I think. It was called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the canyon where the Indians are now, or in Grapevine Canyon where the Los Angeles highway is now. It was about three or four miles west of the ranch house, on a creek below the hills.

The soldiers lived in tents close to the Indians. I am sure of this. My mother showed me the place and told me all about it. That is the place they called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the mountains. The Indians raised some crops of wheat there close to the hills.

When I was at Tejon Ranch we stayed up in the canyon. 578 197 My stepfather worked on the Tejon Ranch for a while, but none of us liked it there. The Indians there did not talk our language.

There were more of our people at Tule River Reservation, so we decided to go there. The people at Tejon Ranch wanted the Indians to go to Tule River. Some went before we did. We drove along the foothills in the same little wagon we had brought from the Armona village.

My mother and some of the other Indians told me about the old *Tulamni* (Too-lahm'-ne) village at the end of the hills by the west side of Buena Vista Lake. The Indians had lots of fights with the Spanish there.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

An old Tulamni Indian named *Ko'-ko* was living at Tule River while we were there. He was a real old man when I was a little girl. He could see only a little. He liked to tell about the old times. He told us many stories about the old timers, but I have forgotten most of them. Koko told us that the Spanish killed lots of Indians in the tules at Tulamni. A long time after the Spanish left they kept finding dead Indians out in the tules.

Sahkehel (Sah-ke'-heel) was another old Tulamni Indian who lived at Tule River. I knew him very well. He was at Tulamni when the Spanish came. He fought against them. He said that the old Tulamni chief sent as far as the Tule River to get Indians to come and help fight the Spanish. They had several battles and the priests came and stopped the fighting. They said that the Spanish and the Indians must be friends. Then they took lots of the Indians to the Missions. Sahkehel was taken to Mission Santa Ynez and lived with a lot of Santa Barbara Indians. Then he went to Mission San Fernando. He was about sixteen years old.

Sahkehel did not call the old place *Too-lahm-ne-oo'*, like you white people call it.. He called it just *Too-lahm'-ne*. He called those Indians *Too-lahl-me'-nah*. That meant "from Tulamni".

I knew Sahkehel until he died, when he was more than 100 years old and heard him tell these things again after I was married. He told me that he was at Los Angeles two years and that the Indians called that place *Yah'-now*.

Sahkehel told us that the Indian name for San Fernando was *Wy-seel*, which meant running. After he was grown he came to the Tejon ranch to work for General Beale. He worked there a long time. He was a *Capitan* (Kop-e-tahn') among the Indians for General Beale. The Indians called him *General* (Hen-er-ahl'). The lady that Sahkehel married was from Tulamni, too. She had been taken to Mission San Miguel and was baptized Marcelina. Her Indian name was *He-aw'-mut*. I knew her a long time. She told me the same things about the Indian battles at Tulamni.

At Tule River we lived just a little way above the Reservation headquarters. There were lots of our people there. We liked it there and stayed for about two years. Then we went back to Sulawlahne at the "Fish" Rice ranch south of Farmersville. There were only a few Indians there. Some of them worked for "Fish" Rice. We stayed there until I was about

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

early settlers. Even Padre Garces mentioned bathing himself only once and that was when he crossed Kern River. He wrote on May 1st, 1776: "They [the Indians] convoyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, and the other two by the body; whereupon I took advantage of the occasion to bathe at my pleasure in that water so limpid and beautiful."

No person who did not see the Yokuts Indians before 1854 or '55 really knows much about their conditions of living before they were turned out of practically every one of their old village sites.

It appears to me no more unfair to steal a man's money and then to call him a pauper than to drive an Indian from the means of keeping himself presentable and then to call him dirty.

According to repeated testimony, the old Yokuts were true to each other, provident, kind to their families, honest to a fault, temperate, and good citizens within their social group. For some reason I have always felt that if they fulfilled these requirements, a moratorium might be in order regarding the matter of the Saturday night bath. It is proper to record here in support of these last statements that while on Kern River Padre Garces wrote on May 1st, 1776: "The young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing themselves every little while; they take great care of their hair and do it up in a topknot; they wear petticoats of antelope skin and mantas of fur, though they are not very coy."

This is Garces' third mention of bathing by Yokuts.

At another rancheria in the same locality he wrote on May 2nd: "In this rancheria I found that the little damsels went naked; and though in other parts the same occurred among the women grown, I have not seen in them all an immodest action."

At the present time it is probable that the Indian is receiving the best treatment he has ever receivd at the hands of our government. It is possible that the next few years are to bring even better treatment than they are now receiving. This is a matter of great satisfaction to those white persons who have lived in close contact with the Indians and who have recognized their fine qualities, but it needs some explanation to be appreciated by others.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Sometime ago, in a public speech, one of the officials of the United States Government made the following statement: "No native people has ever been better treated by the invader and his dominating civilization than has the American Indian by the government of the United States." Probably not one person in one hundred will agree with this statement at first thought, and it is undoubtedly not true in many senses.

The official quoted probably meant that no government has ever appropriated more money for the relief of a native people than has ours. The writer believes that from this angle the statement is entirely true. There is no question but that our government has appropriated hundreds of millions of dollars for Indian relief.

J. Ross Browne, pioneer California Indian official, has very clearly pointed out in his writings about our Indians that the early appropriations, to his personal knowledge, never reached the Indian, that they were made in most instances by politicians who were anxious to provide funds for their political supporters to administer.

All will agree that if it is true that the government of the United States has actually taken care of the American Indians better than has any government cared for the natives of any country invaded by them, then there are some terrible stories yet to be told concerning the atrocities committed by other governments.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Thus two types of environmental factor, topographic access or hindrance, and "weather permitting" or hindering, affected the economic relation of the foothill Yokuts with their neighbors. Easy access does not necessarily mean exchanges of goods or other cultural items, but barriers do retard them. On the other hand, differing environments mean different products, and had Eastern Mono products been identical with Yokuts (yet equally inaccessible) the impetus to exchange would have been wanting. The topographic barrier was surmounted, but the weather barrier could not be, and it presumably served to maintain the strangeness and hostility between Eastern Mono and Yokuts, which only was assuaged temporarily and periodically by the presence of the mutually acculturated intermediaries, the Western Mono.

As suggested by the adjustments of trading periods to the seasonal environment, the physiographic setting was a factor in other tribal relationships and directional emphases. The plain or floor of the San Joaquin valley is abruptly ended on the eastern side by the rising wall of the Sierra Nevada; there is no slow progression. Of the foothills, the most meagre are treeless cones planted at the edge of the valley floor; behind them are higher, larger, interlocking cones blending into sharply massed mountains above which stand snow-capped peaks. This topographic antithesis was reflected in non-material culture of the Yokuts. A directional distinction of eastward, upstream, mountainward (no´tu) versus westward, downstream, plainsward (to´xil; da´ṭu) gave names to the moieties (where they occurred): Nutuwich, Tokelyuwich; it regulated spatial arrangements at large ceremonies; wars and competitions in myths were attributed to uplanders and lowlanders; and in cosmogonic beliefs eastward beyond the mountains is the mysterious "home" of the supernatural animals, while westward beyond the ocean is the "home" of the dead, a place of feasting and merriment.

Other directions of the conventional six were also important.[19] North (hosi´m) and south (homo´t) were constantly used as general designations for other Yokuts people, individuals or groups, when the tribal name was not known, i. e., "northerner" (hoso´mo), "southerner" (humti´nin). East and west (nutu´wič; tokelyu´wič) were rarely used for directional labels for tribes, not because they were moiety names (which the Central Foothill Yokuts lacked entirely) but because the east-west span of the valley is short, and close knowledge of neighbors by tribal name ran along the east to west flow of the streams. Comparably, the intervening watersheds discouraged north-south travel. In general, westerner (to´kya) was a term for any people living far west or southwest of

19 Usually named in order: S, W, N, E, U, D. (No color symbolism was associated with direction.)

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Chiefs always decided matters of intertribal relation but on the powers of chiefs in intertribal wars we have little concrete data. On the whole the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes were peaceful rather than warlike. A few organized raids on villages are reported from the plains region but in the foothills only sporadic, unsystematized outbreaks took place. In such hostilities as occurred there were no war captains other than a man who took leadership upon himself or by general consent, because of his natural abilities as a leader and marksman. Good hunters took up arms when necessary simply as persons who were skilled in handling weapons. A typical account of intertribal hostilities and the chief's minor rôle in them is the following:[49]

The Wobonuch (WM) and Entimbich (Y) have always been friendly. Long ago unfriendly relations existed between these two tribes and those on the north fork of the Kaweah river, chiefly the Waksachi (WM) and Wukchumni (Y), whom the Wobonuch refer to collectively as the Pasuaj. One time some Entimbich women were out gathering seeds on Mill Flat creek. Some Pasuaj came over there and killed all but one woman just for meanness. The woman who escaped ran to a Wobonuch village, Kadawinao, and told what had happened.

The Wobonuch men gathered together. A few of them started southwest toward Aukland (Pasuaj territory). There they met a young man and woman. Now there had been two intermarriages between the Wobonuch and Pasuaj and these young people were the respective offspring. In the avenging Wobonuch party were relatives of the pair. As they met they cried "Cousin!" to each other at once. Then a long parley began. Some of the Wobonuch said that the couple were Pasuaj and had to be killed, but the relatives protested. The irate Wobonuch said they should be killed no matter who they were. They finally won out by threatening to kill the Wobonuch relatives of their own party. Then they killed the young couple and returned home.

Soon a Pasuaj named Wasomai, and his brother and sister, came and set up a camp near Taobin. The Wobonuch camp, Nimaiawe, was about two miles off. A trail from it passed near the Pasuaj camp. An old Wobonuch man was traveling along this trail. The Pasuaj brothers shot at and wounded him. He succeeded in reaching Nimaiawe. He told what had happened to him. The best men were all off hunting deer. The chief (Pinoat) sent out winatums to bring them in.

The Pasuaj brothers knew by this time that they had a war on their hands, so Wasomai got out by an obscure route and went for help. He returned with a lot of his people. The Wobonuch had come over from their village and the two parties began to shoot at each other from behind trees and rocks. The fight went on for several days. The Wobonuch lost four or five men. At last the Wobonuch chiefs decided to call a truce. They called a meeting of the chiefs on both sides by sending winatums (who were protected at all times) into the Pasuaj camp accompanied by the Pasuaj who had previously married into the Wobonuch

[49] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter. This war occurred in the childhood of Supana, a grandfather of George Dick, who was a very old man when Dick was a boy. 'Merican Joe said it occurred "long before the round dance [Ghost dance of 1870]." It probably took place at least seventy-five years ago.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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tribe. The chiefs talked the matter over and a truce was settled. Immediately a dance was held which tribes from both sides, i.e., Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi, and Wukchumni, attended. This was the first social intercourse between the tribes of Dunlap valley and those of the Kaweah river drainage. They have kept up friendly relations ever since.

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The Wobonuch had no war leader or captain: at Taobin there were two guards who stayed on the trail where it came in between two big rocks. There was a narrow approach of this sort on each side of the village. When strangers appeared these guards would go out to meet them and ask their business. If strangers came along quickly, minding their own business and behaving as if they had some purpose, they would not be harmed, but if a man were seen lurking about in the bush he would be shot at once.

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The Chunut informant says that occasional intertribal wars occurred but that there was "no special man to lead the fight."[41] She added that chiefs never fought. Any man who was good at fighting would lead the hostilities. Such a man was likely to have raven as his dream helper.

In warfare, then, the chiefs had no active part, but functioned in their traditional rôle of advisors or judiciaries whose decisions were accepted by common consent.

CEREMONIAL DUTIES

622

The chiefs had certain ceremonial duties which informants seemed unable to define clearly. At apparently all public functions the chief made a short speech. Informants sometimes call this a "prayer." He always told the assembled people what the ceremony was to be and why they were making it, but specific remarks for individual occasions the informants could not or would not give.

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The most important speech made by the chief was that at the annual mourning ceremony. This was spoken on the last (sixth) night of the celebration during the "cry" ritual. Among the Wobonuch the chief addressed the mourners at the ceremony just before the destruction of the images of the deceased; "he told them what they were doing and why, and he told them to quit worrying now. 'This is the end of your feeling bad.'"[42]

The Choinimni informant said that the chief made a speech at the cry ceremony but "couldn't remember" what it was about. Another informant, Michahai-Waksachi, said he would repeat what the chief said in this speech "but my language is too short." As a matter of

[41] Josie Alonso.

[42] 'Merican Joe, informant, George Dick, interpreter.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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prevailed but did not affect this phase of social life. The chief was always of the eagle moiety. Eagle's supremacy was recognized here just as it was to the south. Likewise too, the chiefs were open to bribe: "If a buzzard (moiety) poisoner wants to kill someone on the eagle side, he may go to the eagle captain and pay him for the privilege. In such a case the poisoner may be immune from punishment."

Another informant told Gifford that "the chiefs were bosses over the doctors," but such a statement has little specific significance.

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The doctors' contest, the most spectacular ritual in the mourning ceremony series, offered opportunity for doing away with undesirable shamans. In brief, this contest consisted of the magical killing of shamans who were ranged in opposing rows and "shot" at each other with magic "air-shot." Only the doctor who projected the fatal shot into a fallen opponent could withdraw it. If the shot were not removed the victim would not regain consciousness, and would die within a few days. Thus it occasionally happened that a chief would want a rival chief's doctor killed, in which case the shaman who had power to revive this man in the contest would be paid to withhold the cure. A pretense at curing would of course be made.

Almost all informants in describing the contest speak of the deliberate failure, at times, to revive one of the fallen doctors. Of the other methods of killing people, given above, to which the chiefs had recourse, little is said by most informants. Those who did admit that chiefs were in league with shamans, were all men with the exception of the Kechayi informant. The only detailed accounts of the intrigues of chiefs and shamans are those given above by the Entimbich and Wukchumni informants. That chiefs were not always the benevolent officials which Yokuts and Mono ideals claim them to be, either was not generally known or was not readily admitted.

MOTSA, A POISONER CHIEF

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The tribes living in the plains of the San Joaquin valley were the first in the region to suffer from the encroachment of white settlers and civilization. In the northern part of the valley the Indian population is entirely extinct and has been so for so long a period that nothing is known of their customs. In the southern half of the valley a few members of the tribes originally dwelling about Tulare lake are still alive. But even in the childhood of these Indians the old culture was in an advanced stage of degeneration: as early as 1870 remnants

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

of the tribes Tachi, Wowol, Wolasi, Telamni, Chunut, and Choinuk were living in mixed groups in a few scattered rancherías. Hence, ethnographic data on these tribes though interesting cannot give us an authentic picture of aboriginal culture. Today there is but one informant who can tell us anything of the old life.

The outstanding figure among these tribes was one Motsa, a Tachi who had the status of chief but whose attitude toward others was that of the malevolent shaman. That a man of chiefly rank should have openly victimized his fellows is an unusual procedure: it may have been due to decayed social conditions, plus the fact that the last chief in the locality died without sons or nephews. Before proceeding with the account of Motsa's activities as a poisoner it will be well to give an explanation of the uses of poison in the south central California region.

Josie described the use of poisons in her locality as follows:

> She knew of two kinds of poison. One was made of jimsonweed and the leaves of another plant which were pounded together in a mortar. This poison was called mets ahtawa (strong or real poison). It acted internally, so was usually administered with food. The other poison was called haiyenal, a rock poison. A type of rock that was "all colors, looked pretty, just like soap (iridescent?)," was found in the ground. Bits of the rock were scraped off and ground into a powder which was applied externally to shoes, clothing, etc., that would touch the victim's skin. Josie said she had seen that kind of rock but "hated to look at it; nobody dared go near it."
>
> If a person wanted another killed he would often ask some one near the person to poison him for pay: thus frequently the person asked to do the poisoning was a friend of the victim. If the friend refused a third party would be hired to kill both. Hence the friend usually acquiesced in fear of his own life.

Poisoning is always reported to be worse in some other district than in the immediate locality. Thus Josie says it was done much more at Tule River reservation and "up north" than in the lake region. But "up north," as among the Wobonuch, the art of poisoning is said to have come in recently, about 1873, and the Wukchumni are accused of using it to a much greater extent than the local people.

Shamans were not called in to cure poisoning unless other methods failed.[42] Often poisons acted too quickly for steps to be taken but the usual method was an empirical one, that is, an emetic or antidote was taken. Josie said she cured three people who "put up blood from poisoning." She gave them an emetic of some plant leaves. She is "afraid" of these plants now and refused to identify them.

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[42] See anecdote, p. 397.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE YO'-KUTS.

101 In the language of this nation *yo'-kuts* denotes "Indian" or "Indians", and *no'-no*, "man". (It is a singular fact that nearly every language has different words for "man" and "Indian".) As often before, so here again it is necessary to adopt a word in common use as a basis of classification, since they have no national name.

● 648 We have seen how the California Indians in the extreme northern part of their domain were, at the time of the American advent, being driven back and crushed out by the stronger and fiercer Athabascan races. Likewise in the southern part of their habitat this peaceful race was slowly giving way before the incursions of the more powerful and warlike Paiuti of Nevada. All along the eastern side of the great interior basin the Sierra [133] Nevada interposes an effectual barrier against the latter, protecting the Californians on that side; but the passes which occur at the northern and southern points of junction between the Sierra and the Coast Range allowed the Athabascan tribes and the Paiuti, respectively, to swarm in toward the rich and tempting plains of California, dispossessing the feebler peoples who were there before them.

Living as they do at the lower end of the great basin, the Yokuts received the brunt of the Paiuti attacks. So severe were the latter that the Yokuts, as a geographically solid body of allied tribes, were cut in two in one place and nearly in another. Their habitat stretched originally from [131] the Fresno River to Fort Tejon; but the Paiuti tribes, swarming through Ta-hi'-cha-pa, Tejon, and Walker's Passes, seized and occupied Kern River, White River, Posa Creek, and Kern Lake, thus completely severing the Yokuts nation, and leaving an isolated fragment of it at Fort Tejon, in

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A nook of the mountains.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

a nook of the mountains. Doubtless they would eventually have seized all the streams emptying into Tulare Lake, but they seem to have become enervated by the malaria, and reduced to the same condition of sluggishness as the people whom they displaced.

At the time of the American advent, therefore, the Yokuts occupied the south bank of the Fresno; the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to the mouth of the Fresno; King's River, from Mill Creek down to the mouth; the Kaweah, Tule River, and Deer Creek; the west shore of Tulare Lake, and the isolated mountain-nook at Fort Tejon.

Their tribal distribution was as follows: On the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to Millerton, are the Chūk'-chan-si; farther down, the Pit'-ka-chi, now extinct. On King's River, going down stream, are the following bands, in their order: Tis-e'-chu, Chai-nim'-ai-ni, It-i'-cha, Wi'-chi-kik, Ta'-chi, No-toan'-ai-ti, the latter on the lake, the Tachi at Kingston. On Dry Creek are the Kas-so'-vo; in Squaw Valley the Chu-kai'-mi-na. On the Kaweah River, beginning in the mountains, are the Wik'-sach-i, Wik-chum'-ni (in the foot-hills), Kau-i'-a (on the edge of the plains), Yu'-kol (on the plains), Te'-lum-ni (two miles below Visalia), Chu'-nut (at the lake). On Tule River are the O-ching'-i-ta (at Painted Rock), Ai'-a-pai (at Soda Spring), Mai-ai'-u (on South Fork), Sa-wakh'-tu (on the main river), Ki-a-wet'-ni (at Porterville). At Fort Tejon are the Tin'-lin-neh (from *tis'-nilh*, "a hole"), so called on account of some singular depressions in the earth in that vicinity. A little further north, near Kern Lake, are the Po-hal'-lin-Tin'leh (squirrel-holes), so named on account of the great number of ground-squirrels living in that place.

In the Yokuts nation there appears to be more political solidarity, more capacity in the petty tribes of being grouped into large and coherent masses, than is common in the State. This is particularly true of those living on the plains, who display in their encampments a military precision and regularity which are remarkable. Every village consists of a single row of wigwams, conical or wedge-shaped, generally made of tule, and just enough hollowed out within so that the inmates may sleep with the head higher than the feet, all in perfect alignment, and with a continuous awning of brushwood stretching along in front. In one end-wigwam lives

7:Powers J-5 [redacted]876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

ers, four of them caper around like clowns in a circus, chasing each other, chanting, brandishing rattlesnakes in their hands, twining them about their arms, and suffering them to bite their hands. It is supposed that they have either plucked their fangs, or have not allowed them to drink any water for a number of days beforehand, which is said to render them harmless. But the credulous savages believe them invulnerable, and they eagerly press forward with their offerings, in return for which the wizards give them complete immunity from snake-bites for the space of a year. The younger Indians, somewhat indoctrinated in American ideas, have become sadly skeptical and heretical in regard of these dances, which they contemptuously term "skunk meetings", to the great scandal of their pious elders.

Formerly the step danced by the men on most occasions might not inappropriately be called the piston-rod dance, as they seemed intent on driving their legs alternately into the earth. Of late they have adopted from the Mono the grand walk-round, in a single circle, men and women together, and with an entirely different and less violent step.

Although they have a form of war-dance, and the Chukchansi warred a great deal with the Pohonichi of old, as a race they are peaceful, and they take no scalps. But of late years, under the aggravation of aggressions by white men, they have adopted from the warlike Mono the red paint (instead of black), which has so terrible a significance in a savage dance, and the appearance of which always makes the frontiersmen uneasy. From them, also, they have learned to talk of war, to bluster, to threaten darkly, to hold secret conclaves far within the depths of the mountains, from which the whites were rigidly excluded. But nothing has come of them. These things are foreign to the peaceful Yokuts, and the Monos, though they are supposed to have attempted it many times, have never succeeded in screwing their neighbors' courage up to the sticking-point of joining them in a war on the whites.

Nowadays $20 or $30 in gold is paid for a wife, but this only for a virgin. For a widow or a maid suspected of unchastity no man will pay anything or make any presents; and it is due to the Yokuts to state that a pioneer who has lived among them twenty-one years affirms that before the arrival of the Americans they were comparatively virtuous. Dr. E. R. Bate-

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

man, physician to the Tule River Reservation, gives me the information that both males and females, though bathing quite apart, never enter the water without wearing breech-cloths at least; and this is corroborated by an old resident on King's River, who observed it of them in their native condition. Mr. Charles Maltby, agent of the above reservation, and at one time Indian agent for the whole State, and well acquainted with aboriginal habits, also affirms that the Yokuts are purer than the northern tribes, and that the Indians throughout Southern California are less given to the infamous practice of selling the virtue of their women to white men than those of Northern California. They may not have been any better originally, but they have not been so shamefully debauched by miners. That is probably the explanation.

Their language has what is generally considered a good indication, separate words for "woman" (*mo-kel'-la*), and wife (*mo-ki'*); also, for "man" (*no'-no*) and "husband" (*lo'-wit*).

We find also the singular custom noticed in some other tribes, that a man marrying goes to live at his wife's or father-in-law's house, though he still has power of life or death over her person.

Infanticide is practiced in case of deformity.

Many years ago the Indians dwelling on the lake at the mouth of King's River were carried away captives by the Spaniards, and taken to San Luis Obispo. After a long residence there, upon the breaking up of the missions, they returned to their native land; but meantime a new generation had grown up, to whom the old mission was their home. They yearned to return, and to this day they make an annual pilgrimage to San Luis, where they remain a month; and they would by preference live there all their remaining days, only their children, born on the shores of Tulare Lake, will not consent. By some this may be considered a convincing proof of their attachment to the old Jesuit padres, who used to lasso them in the name of the church; but it is not necessary to resort to this explanation at all. It is easily enough accounted for by the California Indian's proverbial love of his birthplace, just as the slave-born children of Israel lusted for the flesh-pots of that Egypt which had scourged them.

If an Indian dies on a trail far from home he is buried beside it. Every

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

ESTUDILLO AMONG THE YOKUTS: 1819

By A. H. Gayton

114
797

THE SPANISH MISSIONS situated on the California coast between San Francisco and San Diego made frequent forays into the San Joaquin valley for converts during the early years of the nineteenth century. The commandants of these little expeditions usually kept diaries or made reports, some of which contain facts of interest concerning the nature of the land and people visited. None of them are very illuminating ethnographically, but they do add bits to our knowledge of the region, so different at that time. Then, as now, it was inhabited entirely by Yokuts-speaking tribes save for a fringe of Shoshoneans along its mountainous eastern edge.

114

The report made in diary form by Lieutenant José María Estudillo in 1819 has somehow been overlooked. Bancroft speaks of it as "not extant" and of Estudillo's campaign as "a failure."[1] He thereby apparently misled later writers, who omitted the information contained in this diary from an otherwise thorough investigation of archive material on Yokuts village sites and populations.[2] It does not figure in Merriam's discussion of California native populations, though it is used by this author in another connection at a later date.[3] The data offered by Estudillo supplement those of Moraga and Garcés used by Kroeber in his estimate of Yokuts and California Indian populations.[4] To integrate our Spaniard's calculations with the results arrived at by Kroeber, Gifford, and Schenck, is beyond the scope of this paper, the purpose of which is merely to make the data more readily available to those interested.

Meager as are the ethnographic facts recorded by Estudillo, they coincide with the details of Yokuts culture obtained by Kroeber and other investigators a century later. The sketchy lines of Estudillo's picture are readily extended into a realistic delineation of Yokuts life by those familiar with its characteristics. The aquatic habits of the valley people contrast strongly with the hunting, seed-gathering activities of the hill dwellers. Yet it is clear that they maintained close communication and enjoyed intertribal festivities on a large scale, as we have been told by modern informants. That amicable relations between the foothill Yokuts and the Western Mono (the "bad people" of the mountains) is recent, is also corroborated.

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Two copies of the diary appear to have been made by Estudillo or his amanuensis. The first, translated here, is finally dated November 16, 1819. The second, not differing sensibly from this, is finally dated November 19, and is presumably a copy of the first made after his return and perhaps polished a

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol. 19: California, Vol. II, 1801–1824 (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, 1885), 336.

[2] E. W. Gifford and W. Egbert Schenck, Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, UC-PAAE 23:24, 1926.

[3] C. Hart Merriam, The Indian Population of California, AA, n.s., 7:594–606, 1905; Jedediah Smith's Route across the Sierra in 1827, California Historical Society Quarterly, 25–29, April, 1924.

[4] A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, BAE-B 78:488–491, 1925.

where the natives had their huts, distant from the last site, Los Alisos [copy of Nov. 19: Los Alamos], 12 leagues. Indications showed that the inhabitants had already been elsewhere many days. I ordered the company to halt, to allow the herd of horses to eat from what little the sides of the slough and swamps offered.

Knowing that the unconverted Indian named Gabriel who belongs to this Rancheria of Bubal had always been much attached to the soldiers, and with his companions had always gone out anywhere to help them, it struck me as novel that he had absented himself with his people. He [evidently?] had decided to let some other do it, and fled from our encounter. I remained considering what I ought to do in compliance with the wishes of the Superior Governor.

648 797 At 11 that day I observed with the spyglass two Indians some distance off: I sent two soldiers to overtake them, and they brought them to me in camp. After having disposed of the fear they showed, I examined them with kindliness. They declared that several Indians from Bubal (their companions) had been at the fiesta of San Miguel at the end of September, and they returned, telling that the great captain of the soldiers (thus they referred to the Superior Governor) was this time sending troops to catch and take away in bonds all the escaped Christians and unconverted [gentiles], and would kill them if they did not like it. [These natives said] that they would offer the Christians [for return], but that they would not expose those unconverted. Because of their fears some of the Christians had retreated into the interior of the lakes and swamps, and after receiving news of our coming, the rest of them had disbanded.

[They said] that at the Rancheria of Tache there arrived on the 21st three Christians from Soledad, sent with the news that we were already on the road to fall upon them, to recapture the Christians and punish the unconverted. For this reason the captain [copy of Nov. 19: *tiya*, chief] wished to catch the renegades that they had in the Rancheria and send them off. But this had been opposed and [on] their relatives the [rest of the] natives could not prevail. [They said] that they did not know where all the Indians were to be found if we awaited them, or moved to other parts.

They, with some few others, had camped together in a creek bed about 5 leagues away, where there was a little water, which could be reached on foot. After having news of our close approach, they maintained vigils, and last night they saw us as we crossed the sloughs. And finally [they said] that having been advised of our departure by the three comers from Soledad, our route on the plain was already known to everyone.

The information of finding this part of the Rancheria of Bubal at so short a distance, although in a swampy site, obliged me to surprise it, guided by these natives, and I resolved to leave for it at night.

Monday, 25.—At 2 A.M. took a route south, following the two gentile Indians, and at a distance of 5 leagues among tulares and swamps, I arrived at the side of a lake. I found the site where I had been told I would find those

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

whom I sought, but it was already deserted. We followed the tracks some 2 leagues, with the lower halves of our bodies naked, and the troop carrying rifles and shields, until we encountered them. They obtained 45 persons of both sexes and all ages. Some others who perceived us had fled, and could not be followed because of so much water, mud, and tules.

At 11 of the day I reached camp and the spot where [these people] were accustomed to live. On examination they told me that they had retreated because the two whom I had detained had not returned, and they were much afraid. All was like the recital that the two natives had made me before. [They said] that the Indian Gabriel had left for the Ranchería of Buenavista, invited to a fiesta being made by the natives. This Indian Gabriel, although unconverted, has always shown great friendliness toward the soldiers, accompanying them on previous expeditions. Although he is not a captain of the Ranchería of Bubal he is forceful, and is respected for his valor by the great numbers of people who inhabit the valleys and lakes of the tulares. Nevertheless, these natives informed me that he had much fear because of the ill treatment resulting from the expedition made three years ago [copy of Nov. 19: two years] from Mission San Luis [copy of Nov. 19: with the Luiseño Indians]. To put aside this fear I ordered Gabriel to be advised of my coming, and that I would wait for him until the 30th in the neighborhood of the Ranchería of Tontache [Chunut]. Also that he should bring with him such Christians as they had among them, and I would give them a paper of pardon for their return to the missions.

Among the 45 Indians taken was the Indian woman, Liberata, who, because of sickness, had had permission to return home to cure herself. She will return to San Miguel with the others that come. Thereafter they continued with me. This is the village of natives nearest to the missions and with greatest frequence has "made" Christians at San Miguel. Therefore I treated them with the greatest kindness, as I had been charged by the Superior, to the end of disposing of the fears which they had as a result of the influence of the runaway Christians. I told them to return to live at their sites, to go out to the lake where they [the others] were and advise them all to reunite [and live] as before. I sent them off at 2 P.M., but they told me that they would like to remain and not go out until morning to bring in their possessions all at one time. They asked my permission to send notice to Gabriel at once, and to the scattered Indians, to which I acceded with great pleasure, and 5 Indians went out in all directions.

At 3 P.M. the old captain of Bubal, Chape, and his wife arrived. He told me that while he was fishing in the lake the renegade [copy of Nov. 19: from San Miguel] Anastasio came, and he gave him the news of my arrival, and that he was freed from being captured for having run off into the water and hiding in the swamp. [He said] that, having returned to their homes, the old people who remained told him of the good treatment they had been given, and as he already knew me from having been at the Presidio, he [now] came to see me by virtue of the order which permitted them to come to me. He pre-

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936·NS29 Yokuts NS29

sented me with some fish which I gratefully received. The Indians asked permission to catch ducks for the soldiers, and in less than half an hour within my sight, they caught many with snares which they had in the lake.

The land over which we have come is saline and miry, without any pasture for the horses.

Soon the natives all were reunited and returned to live on their land without fear of any injury the troop might do them. I left at 6 A.M. [Tuesday, Oct. 26] from this site of the Lake of Bubal for the great plain, going toward the south to go around it, and at a distance of 6 leagues to the east went toward the arroyo of San Cayetano. This I reached and followed as far as the first foothills of the Sierra Nevada in search of water and pasture. In the cañon called by the natives Agspa [the present Alpaugh?] I found it at 6:30 P.M. Made camp, having arrived with the horses and mules considerably dejected. They had not eaten for three days including today, and from necessity had walked 16 leagues over salty, loose, soil; because of this I had left 3 exhausted horses and 1 mule in the arroyo. At 11 P.M. they were reunited with the herd.

Wednesday, 27.—At sun-up I examined the cañon that forms this arroyo, with the spyglass. It is called San Cayetano by Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga, and Agspa by the natives [copy of Nov. 19: whose ranchería was found farther in, and the people at the fiesta at Buenavista]. It is filled with oaks, live oaks, poplars, and willows, and sufficient wild plants. Very good water runs through it for the distance of 1 league, and [there is] pasture in abundance. Therefore it appears that the herd will recover today. Those that came on the expedition of 1806 did not say it was so wide nor so covered with trees at that time. [Copy of Nov. 19: Judging by the appearance of the ranchería, it is composed of 400 souls of both sexes and (all) ages.]

Thursday, 28.—Left at 6 A.M., taking a northerly direction, and at 9 A.M. entered the arroyo of Coyaipich [Koyeti?], at a distance of 4 leagues. It was named San Pedro by Moraga in 1806. I saw two Indians, who were followed and overtaken. They spoke to me when their fear left, and they conducted me to the ranchería of the same name. Their captain, Tuekal, told me that several days before they had received news of my coming from the Tache. The night before they had been watching us until the troop began to catch the horses and saddle them. Knowing that they had no Christians among them I put aside their fears, and informed them as I had done the refugees from the missions, that they could return. The number of people composing this ranchería must be about 200 of both sexes and all ages. [Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: The Indians are of good appearance and physiognomy, seem docile. Their dialect is the same which my interpreter Antonio, neophyte at Mission Soledad, speaks.]

I followed the same direction to the east [copy of Nov. 19: Started for the San Gabriel river with two guides from this ranchería] guided by two natives of Coyaipich, and I crossed the intervening plain to the entrance of the Gran Roblar, which is 8 leagues. I encountered the Ranchería of Choijnocko [Choinok] at the sides of an arroyo that had a little water in small

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

pools. [Copy of Nov. 19: According to the size of it, it should show the number of 300 souls. . . . Their dialect is like that of Tukal.] Their captain and the greater part of the inhabitants, they told me, were at Chischa, 8 leagues away.

I continued eastward and reached a deep arroyo, where I found two huts with Indians. They came out to receive me, one of them being the captain of Chischa [Jonsps]. With his brother, wife, and other relatives he had retired this afternoon to weep during the night for the death of their relatives [copy of Nov. 19: two brothers and six sisters], since on the following day they would all celebrate, and various rancherías had been invited to the fiesta. He and his relatives helped to give water to the horses, since it was already 6 P.M.

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: From this point (Coyaipich) to the weeping place of Jonsps, Captain of Chischa, and from there to his ranchería, as to that of Telame, and as far as the edge of the Roblar, the land is admirable for its fertility, although rough because of its virginity. With its moisture, it only invites all to its cultivation to give abundant crops of wheat, grains, corn, and all the legumes, as long as it is irrigated. And the waters of San Gabriel can easily be carried in case of necessity. The pasture remains green and dry the year around. The woods are oaks of various species, willows, and poplars; there are some wild plants in the level parts, and in the arroyo and bogs. Moreover there abounds a shrub that they call wild hemp, very white and strong, of which the natives make their nets for fishing and (which) we (use) for sewing our shoes. Some of it is so fine it serves for sewing clothes.

The dialect is the same. The sustenance which they have is of acorns, very savory wild grain, and different kinds of seeds which this country naturally produces with great abundance. The river has several kinds of tasty fish, the little pools and arroyos a kind of anchovy which the Indians catch and dry in large quantities to keep for the rigorous times of winter. And they have pine nuts which they gather in the mountains.]

Having had news from the Choynocos that there was a Christian from San Miguel among them at the fiesta, and that they had two horses, I spoke to Jonsps. He immediately sent to tell the captain of the Choynoco to come, and to bring the Christian and horses. He [the captain] arrived at 10 P.M. with him and with a horse, begging me in his name and those of the other captains to forgive him. [He said] that they all invited me with his people to pass tomorrow at the fiesta which the captain of Chischa, Jonsps, was making. I accepted, and he returned at midnight to Chischa, 3 leagues away from Choinoco.

The two rancherías [copy of Nov. 19: three] that I have seen today all had their women and children hidden, but after they were informed that no priest accompanied me, they came out and presented themselves.

Friday, 29.—At 6 A.M. started the march to the north edges of the Sierra [along the foothills?] accompanied by the native captain, Jonsps, going to his Ranchería of Chischa where the reunion for the funeral celebration was to take place. Arrived at 8 P.M. There came out to receive me 7 captains from

various parts, of which 2 were Telame, he of Choynoco, and 4 from other rancherías of the Roblar in the vicinity of the mountains. They begged me to come and see them all. I made suitable precautions without letting it be known, casually dispatched my horse, and accompanied by two interpreters directed myself first within the ranchería of these Chischeses. They pressed upon me various dishes of atoles and pinoles, which I tasted in order not to offend them, and they were satisfied. I counted 437 able-bodied young men in the walk I took, and about 600 women and children all placed before this village. Across the front of the ranchería I counted 358 double paces [*pasos dobles*] which makes 624 yards [*varas*], and across its back 432 paces or 756 yards in the form of an imperfect half moon. All [the houses] are of mats and willow branches. In front of the ranchería were the guests, all separated, where I directed myself along with the captains who accompanied me. Each of them were in little groups; thus men, women, and children were presented to me, and it was not possible to count them as I had done with the Chischas. However, the number of young men was not less than 600, and some 200 young women.

When I walked behind the Ranchería of Chischa I immediately came upon the arroyo which was near by. On its banks, I found more than 100 middle-aged women washing seeds for the atoles of the guests, while other younger ones were grinding these seeds on stones as is their custom [copy of Nov. 19: with large baskets of thick acorn mush].

[Copy of Nov. 19, Notes: Of the Ranchería of Chischa nothing was known until now. Its people, and those of their neighboring friends who were found assembled, presented in number some 2400 persons, all of comely appearance. Their number should be greater, judging by the scarcity (*cortedad*) of people seen, not counting the young people who were no doubt hiding in the willows which encircle the neighborhood of the river. This was proved when the sergeant of the rear-guard party saw more than 200, women, lads, little girls and boys, come out from the river edge beside it to look at us, and told me of it in a moment.

Of the population of natives who inhabit the Roblar, and from there along the Sierra to the Ranchería of Apalame, there are, or there ought to be more inhabitants in it. The number of people which I calculate could be Christianized is from 5 to 6 thousand, little more. This is from the rancherías of the lakes and rivers.]

After finishing my walk with the captains, I made known to them all the objects and ends of my coming. They assured me that they had among them no more Christians than that one from Choinoco who had been brought to me, nor had any come to Chischa. Thus neither their captain Josups nor his people had ever seen troops, this being the first time that they had reached them. Though long ago some passed below [this was Don Gabriel Moraga in his reconnaissance made in 1806], they only heard of it through their friends from Telame. Josups and the other captains wished to trade with us, save that we lived very far from them, and that they could not cross [the valley]

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

to come to the mission or Presidio as they had enemies of their own in the intervening territory. But after disposing of their fears and [telling them?] that they could come when they liked, Joasps promised me that he would come to Monterey next spring. For which, and for his protection among the outposts where he would cross, I gave him a pass, which was greatly appreciated.

They presented to me as gifts various baskets [*coras*], flour [*pinole*], and grain [*arroz*], but having nothing with which to return their kindness, I did not accept them, saying that I had no means of carrying the things. I only took three measures [*almudes*] of grain and gave them some corn flour. As they asked that the soldiers be allowed to go about I permitted it. They went in parties in charge of the sergeant and corporals, and with orders to take no more than a taste of the foods and that which was given them. Thus it was done, and they were well satisfied.

At 12 that day a captain from the Ranchería of Notontos [Nutununtu] arrived, who was presented to me by the others at the gathering, and then retired with them.

At 1 P.M. there came for the fiesta from the interior of the Sierra Nevadas, 4 captains from a ranchería named Apalame. Their names were Cholmuk [copy of Nov. 19: Chomulk], Gilmosts, Ogmost, and Gulstos. With them were 69 men and 42 women. Though they had never seen soldiers they made no novelty of it, for Joasps had sent word saying that they might come without fear, as we were friends. The men arrived making skirmishes with their bows and arrows, killing dogs and chickens [*gallinas*] with permission from the Chischas, and afterward paid the latter with beads. Then they commenced to eat them with great pleasure.

[Copy of Nov. 19: In the conversation which I had with the captain, Joasps, he told me that he and his people went up on the hills of the Sierra to gather pine nuts, and that in some places there were uplands of good earth where one could easily go on horseback, but it was very far. From the people of the interior I learned some particulars of the people who live on the other side, who, they told me, gather their harvest of pine nuts and seeds from both sides (?, *en ambas vandas*), but that they themselves did not go far into the mountains for the inhabitants were very bad people. There are three ranges of mountains, though not so great as these (on the west slope of the Sierra) where there are very large acorn-bearing oak trees. They had never seen people like us before.]

I was urged many times to remain with them over night, which was that of the weeping, and for the dance on the following day. [Copy of Nov. 19. Their captain Joasps, as I have said, is making the funeral celebration which was carried out (*compone*) in the following way. They gathered in little groups with faces blackened, and giving most lamentable wails with exaggerated grief, so they passed the night. On the day following they washed themselves, and painted, and formed dancing groups by rancherías. The master of the fiesta, after giving them a feast of fish caught in the river, deer

769 meat, venison (*benados*), and antelope (*? berrendos*) that there are in abun-
262 dance, flour and mush, concluded by paying them all with beads and baskets, and they left for their homes.]*

●648 They offered to care for the horses, and [said] that if I wished to leave some of them during our interval and return for them, they would maintain them as the Telames had done before [for Moraga?]. I excused myself in good style and turned toward the west for Telame [Telamni]. I arrived there [887] at 6 P.M., having left at 2:30, and walked from the retreat of the captain of [361] the Chischas 8 leagues. In this rancheria [of Telame] I found 14 old women [43] and 9 old men who were not at the fiesta. One of them sent me a pullet [*polla*] to sup upon [copy of Nov. 19: for which I sent back some corn flour]. Telame is distant from Chischa nearly 5 leagues, to the west, and from where I slept, 9.

648 *Saturday, 30.*—At 5 A.M. left for the Rancheria of Tontache with guides
797 which the Indians gave me. At different times we took routes to the east, [133] northwest, and south because of the many arroyos, tule-filled lakes, and sloughs of muddy water which there are in this great Roblar. From this we got out at 2 P.M and went west as far as the San Gabriel River. We reached the place of La Cruz at 4 P.M., having gone 13 leagues. At 5 o'clock 4 Indians of Tontache came bringing fish and ducks, and invited me to go to their rancheria in the morning. For although their captain and the greater part of the people were at Buenavista [for the fiesta], the few who remained wished to receive the troop and to know me, as they had learned of us from the Indians of Soledad.

Sunday, 31.—After having told the rosary I left at 7 A.M. for Tontache, [361] leaving the burdens in camp, and arrived at 9, at a distance 3 leagues to the west. I found it situated on the side of Lake Bubal [Tulare Lake] [copy of Nov. 19: on fairly muddy land which could not be traversed on horseback]. [162] I entered it with only one soldier and two interpreters and counted 103 comely young men, all with bows and arrows, and some 200 souls among the old men, old women, and children. They delivered up to me two Christians from San Miguel, and they sent in search of three that had retreated to the interior of the lake among the tules. They begged me to pardon them, for they were all either their sons or brothers. I exhorted them not to detain any Christian in the future even though he were a relative. At the time I was taking my leave I had notice from an Indian who came from Buenavista that Lieutenant Moraga had arrived there four days before, and that he could do nothing as the Indians had scattered into that lake. And that the people invited [to the fiesta] had also retreated from fright, and he had come to tell the news to their relatives. At about 12 P.M. I returned to camp and reached it at 2 P.M. The ground is sticky, salty and much under water.

These Indians corroborated the fact that they had knowledge of my leaving Soledad through the Tacho Indians and that I would come through this country. But believing themselves to be without fault they had remained

* It appears that Estudillo obtained this description perhaps from an interpreter, as he was not, according to the continuing entry, an eyewitness.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

quietly on their land, though many others had fled into the lake, from which they did not wish to come out. [They said] that the news had gone out in all directions through the valley, and that I would not find any Indians in their principal villages as far as the horse-killers to the north [*a los matadores de caballada del Norte*] since these were living scattered in the mountains and swamps. 648 797

Monday, November 1.—At 5 A.M. started toward the north for the Ranchería of Taches with guides from Tontache. It is distant 12 leagues. I arrived at this site or location at 4 P.M. crossing saline, miry land. With much trouble we passed four sloughs full of water and tules, and so sticky that finally Ygnacio Solo's horse could not get out, and he and his munitions got wet all over. The swamp which I crossed today is very miry, having crossed four times today a slough full of mud and water in the same swamp. [361] [133]

One league away from San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River] five Indians of the vicinity were seen running for the swamp. Although I sent the Indian interpreter Antonio in pursuit to speak to them he could not follow. For which, and because the mire and the immense swamp where they had fled could not be crossed, I sent him off instead with his companion, and it ended [with their] bringing news that all the Indians of Tache had disappeared from fear of us because of what Augustin and Pasqual, neophytes at Soledad, had told them, saying that the troop had left to come and kill them, and catch the fleeing Christians. Because of this their two captains (whose return they await today) had set out with 9 Christians for that mission. Other natives had taken various routes [in flight?]. I ordered sent out to them a Christian named Victor, to say for my part that all was to the contrary of what they had been told; that they were not to believe said Christians, and still less if they were renegades; and that they, the natives, should come to be with me. He returned at 9 at night, bringing with him two natives who told me the same as had Antonio. I made them understand the opposite, and that it was extraordinary since this Ranchería of Tache was so obligated to the soldiers for their friendliness for many years, and that on different occasions they had fought with them against their enemies; that they had always come out to receive us [the Spaniards] but they had not done so for me. To which they replied that the reason was because of the news given by Augustin and Pasqual, as they said the Christians wanted to kill them, and they believed it. Because of this the two captains were taking back those that could be caught. They questioned why we should wish to do them injury since they had never taken nor killed a single horse when they had cared for them many times before this. I made them put aside their fear, making them understand the contrary, but that nevertheless I had to recapture all the Christian renegades and send them to their missions. And that if they wished to maintain our friendship they should not shelter anyone; and that hereafter, if any runaways from whatever mission should present themselves, as true friends of ours they should return those persons quickly. Even if they were relatives of the ranchería they should censure them and make them do the same.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

They went and advised all their relatives that I wished to see them and to know them, and that if they wished to know me they could come, and go back to catch fish in the morning as they had always done.

At 10 P.M. there arrived a graceful native youth sent from the Ranchería Notonto to know if we had reached this point, as his captain [copy of Nov. 19: Toiyya] had returned from the fiesta at Chischas which Joaspe had celebrated, and told them that we had come without doing any injury (as they had been told by the envoys from Soledad Mission). [He said] that they wished to know me and were awaiting me at their ranchería where the people were intending to fish in the river for me. As they had not killed nor sold any horses nor had any fugitive Christians among them had no fear. Heretofore [?] they had come out on solid ground to receive us, and if ever they had fought with any soldiers it was because of the falsehoods they had been told. I answered that they spoke and did well, but that because of having to talk with the Tache I could not come then, but that the day after tomorrow I would be with them in passing. He replied that this was agreeable since their captain had sent to invite other captains from neighboring rancherías to meet me, and that they would all be together for my arrival. This native was so gracious and vivacious as he spoke with me, his bravery was so manifest, and his manners so refined, that I presented him with a colored kerchief and some pinole. He departed at midnight much pleased.

Tuesday, 2.—Because of the fatigue of the horses and the dirtiness of the troop I remained here this day for the first to be refreshed and the second to wash themselves.

At 9 A.M. came four Tache chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilaxas. The last two are those who returned from Soledad the night before. Thirty-seven young men accompanied them, all of them prepared with hand nets for catching fish in this San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River]. This they did before my very eyes, with great agility, diving quickly and staying under the water so long that I prayed. Some remained under five credos [during five "Lord's prayers"], others no less than three [*cinco Credos, y el que menos tres que yo reze*]. After having caught sufficient large fish [*mojarras*], salmon, and others very palatable, I return with all to camp, to sensibly demonstrate to those who were living within the lakes and marsh (because of believing the lies of the Christian renegades) that they could all reunite and come out to live on their land without any fear. As they could not all be seen together, [I said?] that if the road was traversable, I alone would go to their ranchería or sites. At that they replied that they had already told me the cause of their separation, and that they would, by force if necessary, catch and take to San Miguel the Christians who were missing, so [they would?] reunite on firm land. They said that one could easily go on horseback until near the marsh of the lake, and that there they would carry me until they put me in a balsa to reach the ranchería. Although there were very few people there, they would be much gratified [they said]. I accepted, and they dispatched notice to prepare for my arrival.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Immediately the troop knew of my resolution they showed repugnance, and advised the sergeant to dissuade me from going alone, to obviate any attempt [at crime] from the barbarians seeing the opportunity. But having burned my hand with some powder in their sight [the natives?], I could not go on to the ranchería, and sent the Indian interpreter, Antonio, with several others to go and bring me an idea of the situation. With this I saw them off; they left saddened by my accident, but the soldiers remained satisfied, so I was told.

At 11 P.M. the interpreter returned with his companions and the captains Cullas and Chilaxas to guide us to the Notonto ranchería. The former told me that part of the Tache had fled within the waters, and were living on a huge balsa of tule without fire [copy of Nov. 19: nor warm food]. That there was much mire in the swamp as far as the outlet of the lake, where they had some little balsas, and in order to reach it they had already prepared for me a very fine large one.

Wednesday, 3.—An envoy from Tontache arrived at 5 A.M. to tell me that Lieutenant Don Gabriel Moraga had returned to Buenavista Lake and had seized the Indians in a cañon, among them 9 Christians; the others had fled. He who brought the news had left on the 30th and walked day and night to give it. From the north news was just received of fighting with the troop from San Francisco. Many natives had been killed, but they had killed a soldier and wounded several.[1] I sent this native back to tell his companions that the killing of the soldiers and the wounding of the others was false.

At 6 A.M. I left for the Ranchería of Notonto 7 leagues to the north [on the] shore of San Gabriel River [copy of Nov. 19: Kings River], so I was told. I took to the east across a plain of miry and saline land as far as Kings River where their ranchería is situated.

At a distance of 2 leagues before reaching it, there came out on the road three Notontos Indians, one of them with three cakes of meal [*tortas de pan de arroz*] with which they regaled the guides and other Indians. At a distance of 700 yards [*varas*] the village could already be seen. And there was presented to me an Indian of the same Notontos who had already known the troop, who was called Manuel Pinto. With considerable assurance he told me the names of the captains found together, which was what I wanted. I answered that the reunion would be celebrated, and that I would like to see them. He answered that he would advise them, and that I should wait. With scorn I sent him off, saying that I would arrive where they all were before he did. Charging all [the troop] with great vigilance, I presented myself before the natives whom I found lined up and without arms (any Indians who presented themselves with bows would be treated like enemies).

Accompanied by four soldiers I went into their midst and through the interpreter ordered the captains brought together. There were the following: Taija [*tiya?*] an old captain, and Chata his nephew, new captain of the No-

[1] This was apparently the expedition under Sergeant Jose Sanchez; cf. W. Egbert Schenck, Historic Aboriginal Groups of the California Delta Region, UC-PAAE 23:129, 1926.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

tonto; Coytisa, a captain of the Gumilchi [Wimilichi]; Guhita [copy of Nov. 19: Guchaita], and Hocha, captains of Guchetema; and Guchalne, captain of Tategüi. To them it was made known that my coming was by order of the great captain, to catch all the Christians that the natives were sheltering, and to punish them if they were bad and hostile to the troop. All the Indians at once put their hands in their mouths, and the captains drew near me and replied that the Nontos would not consent to sheltering them and sent them off immediately. [Copy of Nov. 19: And they began to cry to me "Amica, Amica, Amica, noche," which is to say, "Come, come, come, friend."] At Tategüi two from Soledad named Oton and Estevan had arrived, and as its captain already knew of my coming he ordered them to present themselves to me before I came among the Nontos. It had been done, and he [†] delivered them to the Tache captain, Mariano Tiesar, who had returned to the mission with all of the Christians together.

I reprehended the boldness of sending the Indian Manuel Pinto to me to inquire what I wished, when through their envoy to Tache I had ordered them to do otherwise[†], and much more that he should have advised me to wait an interval, and that they should do nothing to any of the troop or there would be dire results. They all answered that they desired to placate us and questioned what and how they could do it, and regretted that I should have thought otherwise. With that I showed pleasure, and they began to bring me fresh fish and other presents. These I would not take as I had nothing to return, and made the same excuse as at Chischa.

Before going into the ranchería I had taken the precaution to see that the corporal, Sebastian Rodriguez, would count the people as they were lined up, knowing that I would not be able to do it. He did so and counted 303 robust men. Of women there were only old ones, thus proving that they were hidden. Very few children were present, and these only after being with them for some time.

After being in Notonto two hours I continued to march toward the west [copy of Nov. 19: went eastward] and crossed Kings River at 4 P.M. . . . It is 4 leagues away from Notonto, and to the point of its outlet, 11 leagues. I camped for the night on its banks after making suitable precautions against Indians that might be near.

Thursday, 4.—At 5 A.M. took a route toward the west until 10, when I came out of the Roblar and entered the plains. Thence north for the tular of San Pablo, where I arrived at 4 P.M. having gone fifteen leagues from where I slept [copy of Nov. 19: from Notonto]. This site is in the middle of the plain. It is without firewood; we had to bring a load from the mouth of the marsh. The water is in great holes. On this plain a deer was caught by lasso, and the men supped on fresh meat.

Friday, 5.—I was informed by an Indian who came out as a guide from the Notontos, that although most of the Gumilchis have joined with them in the marsh and mires there have remained some old people and one Christian. I ordered that the entrance to the marsh be sounded out, but it was not possible

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

on horseback nor on foot, because of so much mud and tule. Because of this I sent the Indian, Antonio, with other armed Indians [copy of Nov. 19: with twenty Indians armed with arrows (*de jaras*)] who returned at 8 P.M. But without doubt the people had perceived us the day before, since the site was abandoned and they did not encounter any people.

Left San Pablo, going north to the San Joaquin River over muddy, salty and marshy ground. We crossed several deep cuts, reaching the river at 4 P.M., having gone but 10 leagues because of so many turns. This place is where Tape had his ranchería; there were indications that it had been moved elsewhere some fifteen days ago. In nearly all of today's journey there were encountered the scattered bones of horses already dead many days. Two pack horses belonging to Mission San Miguel have died, and three were left exhausted in the plain.

Saturday, 6.—Started at 5:30 A.M., following the banks of the river northward, full of meadows and swamps. At 3 P.M. I saw the fresh track of an Indian. I followed it into the middle of a bay of willows formed by the river. Settled on its banks I found five old women, an old man, a youth of about twenty, and a consumptive-looking young woman of about the same age, also a hermaphrodite whom they called Joya. All were natives belonging to the ranchería of Othos [copy of Nov. 19: who is already christianized at San Juan] and Yulavas, [under?] captain Chegice already christianized at San Juan with the name Bartolome, and Quetas [an] unconverted captain. They informed me that a very few days before Bartolome had come, sent by the priests of San Juan, and Queutas and all the people had gone to the mission with him, leaving the possessions I saw, and the old and infirm who remained there.

Several days ago they learned that the troops from San Francisco had passed lower down on the river and fought with the natives. Because of this they had scattered into the lakes and marshes. I made these old people understand that they did wrong in not going to live at the Mission San Juan, and that I could not consent to their remaining thus, as they served to shelter those already made Christians, when they came back, and that after I returned I would send from the mission to their captains for them and their possessions, and that they would be helped and cared for, and that they would be Christians if they liked.

I followed the old man as guide to another turn of the river twelve leagues distant from the point I left, having seen several bones of horses dead some time.

At 9 P.M. the sky was covered with clouds, with wind from the south. At 10 P.M. the herd stampeded but was easily caught.

Sunday, 7.—At 1 A.M. there fell a rainstorm which lasted three hours; it was not very hard, yet sufficient to wet us all thoroughly. Left at 5:30 A.M., going north by the shore of the river. At 10 o'clock found a village already abandoned some days. As it started to rain very hard I had to cross the river [copy of Nov. 19: in search of a shelter]. At 2 P.M. we halted in a bend of the

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the river toward the east, then going about 4 leagues we turned south [copy of Nov. 19: and crossed another time] and found signs of there having been a rancheria. There were parts of dead horses there and a sweat house of considerable capacity. Going 4 leagues more, and almost in front of my halting place of the day before, he pointed out on the other shore of the river a great willow thicket and tular, saying that it [the Chaneche rancheria] was on those banks. We went there and found four old balsas which we could not use. I had to cross by swimming and maneuvering about [*bola pie*] with considerable trouble because of the obstacles, the great density of trees, willows and *zarzamora* on both sides. It was necessary to enter partly on canes [?, *entrar en parte arrodillados*] as far as the rancheria, which was found abandoned. It was composed solely of the same tules, their ends bent [?, *dobladas sus puntas*] like those I had seen on the shores of the river and sloughs, the miserable huts all scattered and without any order.

From this native I learned that at this Rancheria of Chineches all the renegade Christians from Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Francisco, and Soledad had gathered in a considerable number. [He said] that Pomponio, Baltazar, and a Clareño came to it frequently; that six days ago they arrived with twelve horses and a piece of cloth that they had stolen in the neighborhood of the town and mission of Santa Clara. [He said] that when he retreated he left them there, and they had not as yet seen us; that since they always rode bareback they had no halters.

All the San Joaquin River and the arroyo of Santa Rita is studded with groves of a very large species of willow. In the largest the natives knew to watch in such a way over a great distance, for so large is this plain which they call Los Tulares that anyone is seen who comes on foot, or still better, on horseback. Today we made 12 leagues with considerable trouble because of our exposure.

Wednesday, 10.—It now seemed impracticable to continue north to the Merced River in search of an Indian village, which, according to my calculations would be 12 leagues away. For as I see it, it would have been already abandoned for many days by both natives and the renegade Christians who live with them. They would be hidden in the tules and swamps whose inviolability is a complete certainty, the more so since they carry nothing with them, and get about easily with their knowledge of the country. And already having news of this and the San Francisco expedition they would take special precautions, not even making the fires which they usually make when traveling [copy of Nov. 19: with which they are accustomed to signal when our people are traveling] on the plain. Considering the time wasted, I resolved to return to the Presidio.

Started at 6 A.M. guided by the same Indian, going toward the east [?, *oriente;* copy of Nov. 19 does not give the direction] for the Santa Rita River. I reached there at 4 P.M. having gone 11 leagues through swamps, etc.

I learned from this native named Lutuays, and from the Indian interpreters whom I brought from Soledad that in that mission he had two Chris-

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

tian sons called Fernando and Pastor. On two occasions they had fled from it and he had returned them there, but now Pastor was [again] with the natives. He wished to catch him to return him, and to make himself a Christian also, as well as an unconverted daughter. Since he is now old he wants his son Fernando [and his brother who although unconverted is at the same mission] to come for him, who would be able [?] to recover [the Christian Pastor?] that they have. That he is old makes no difference [in his authority?] since he is a captain, as are also his sons, particularly Fernando who is the eldest. The interpreter assured me of his veracity; he promised me that meanwhile he would bring together the natives and Christians, he would know of their plans, or ideas, and that he would find out where Pomponio, Baltazar, and the Clareño were. Also that if he could manage it he would apprehend them with [by means of ?] their relatives and his sons, for he did not believe that the troop would be able to surprise them [?, *de no avisara para que los puedan sorprender la tropa*]. I promised him that after leaving the tular I would return, that I had confidence in what he said. However, I said that I knew the natives, and that we would not cease [our efforts] until we got them, if they were not apprehended and returned to the barracks at San Juan, which was in the vicinity.

At the same time this native also told me that, several days ago, three professed Christians had brought news of having fought the soldiers on Merced River, and that many Indians were killed and several soldiers wounded, one of them in the chest so that he died. This, he said, was communicated to them by Indians of Missions Santa Clara and San José.

At 10 P.M. it commenced to rain, the downpour continuing until 4 A.M. of

Thursday, 11.—At sunrise left this location of Santa Rita, after having sent off the old native Lutunaija. Went westward across saline land and plains as far as the entrance of the cañon of San Luis Gonzaga, which was not actually reached at 3 P.M., having gone 11 leagues. At 8 P.M. a hard shower of rain fell; then it cleared.

Friday, 12.—At 5 A.M. with wind south and in pouring rain I left this spot and entered said cañon. We crossed the ridge and peak called San Luis Gonzaga and reached the outlet of Los Auxaimas. Five tired beasts were left on the hill, having gone 12 leagues over bad road to the west.

At 8 P.M. it began to rain fitfully and lasted until 4 of the morning of

Saturday, 13.—At 5 A.M. left the place of Los Auxaimas amidst rain, and at 10 reached Mission San Juan Bautista, a distance of 7 leagues, with the horses quite exhausted and the men wet. At 9 P.M. the rain returned, which lasted all night.

Sunday, 14.—It continued raining very hard, lasting all day until 9 P.M. when it cleared with the wind north.

Monday, 15.—Left Mission San Juan Bautista at 10 A.M. At La Natividad sent off the soldiers of the barracks of Soledad and San Miguel together with the Indians of these missions and of San Antonio. I reached the Rancho de Real Hacienda at 4 P.M., a distance of 7 leagues from San Juan.

12: Cook

101, 162, 174, 175, 648, 797

NS29 Yokuts NS29

[Since this entire source is concerned with triabl identifications, population distributions, historical reconstruction, history, the relations of the Indians with the Spaniards and other white settlers, and the effects of missionary activities upon the aboriginal population, see category 116, the entire source, for such information. --Analyst]

*161 These vouchers are included with other documents in Senate Executive Document No. 61, 32nd Congress, 127 first session, 1852 (pp. 20 to 23). Some question might be raised concerning the accuracy of the figures, but there is no indication in the correspondence of the period of irregularity or dishonesty. Dr. Ryer claimed that he had vaccinated, from the Stanislaus to the south shore of Lake Tulare, 6,154 persons.

● 648 A somewhat smaller area was covered by four of the *161 eighteen treaties concluded by commissioners McKee, 127 Barbour, and Wozencraft [1] with the California tribes in 1851. These four treaties may be designated A, B, C, and N, following the order in which they are presented in the Senate Report. Under the agreements, one of the commodities which were to be furnished to the Indians by the government was blankets. The tribes included under treaties A, B, and C were to receive a total of 3,000. In treaty N (as also in several other treaties not concerned with this area) it was stated that the Indians were to receive one blanket apiece for every person over fifteen years of age, and presumably this ratio was employed universally in the issue of blankets. Under the conditions existing at that time it may safely be assumed that the persons over fifteen years of age constituted at least 80 per cent of the total population. Therefore the three treaties first mentioned (A, B, and C) must have covered 3,750 individuals. Regarding the group embraced by treaty N it is explicitly stated that "they may number . . . some 2,000 to 3,000." If we take the mean, or 2,500, then the total for the area is 6,250.

The area included under the four treaties extended actually only from the Chowchilla River to the south shore of Lake Tulare and the Kern River, whereas the territory covered by Ryer during his vaccination tour began with the Stanislaus. Within the treaty limits he vaccinated 4,449 persons. The discrepancy between his total and that of the treaties poses no difficulty since it is apparent that, as would be expected with any primitive group, fewer individuals consented to be vaccinated than made known their desire to receive gifts of blankets. Hence the figure derived from potential blanket distribution is probably closer to the actuality than the vaccination figure. If, accordingly, we correct Ryer's report of 1,705 persons vaccinated north of the Chowchilla River to conform to the ratio found south of that stream, we get 2,398. If we add this to 6,250 the total is 8,648 for the entire strip from the Stanislaus to the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley.

*161 In summarizing general estimates and counts we may discard the very high values submitted by Wozencraft, Johnston, and Sutter on the grounds that they were either mere guesses or applied to an earlier period than that

[1] These treaties seem to have been concluded without proper authorization from the Federal government and were never ratified by the Senate. They were incorporated in Senate Confidential Documents, June, 1852, and remained unpublished for half a century. Finally they were ordered printed in 1905 as a Senate Reprint and are now available under the title of "18 California Treaties."

*161 A further problem of importance illustrated by our data for Bubal is the extent to which population estimates for villages were affected by local fugitivism or temporary scattering of the natives at the advent of the Spaniards. Very frequently the explorers left notations that the inhabitants of a certain rancheria had fled, or that many were absent. It seems clear that even by the year 1800 the natives were all too well aware of the purpose of the missionaries and soldiers and took measures to defeat that purpose. For this reason, remarkable as it may appear, the largest estimates are likely to have been the most accurate.

Returning now to the population of Bubal we find Martin counting "no less" than 200 children in 1804, indicating a total number somewhere in the vicinity of 1,300, although most of the adults apparently had absconded. In 1806 the same situation arose and Moraga found only 400 left in the village. In 1814 Cabot estimated that the village contained 700 people, despite the fact that some may have been missing. The apparent increase in 1814 can be very simply explained by the assumption that fewer natives had fled the village than had done so when Moraga arrived. Cabot's figure may be quite near the truth for the year 1814 since we must concede a drastic overall reduction of population in the area between 1804 and 1814. Certainly the population can never have been less than 700. The weight of the evidence at hand thus indicates that the estimate based upon Martin's account, i.e., 1,300 persons, is essentially sound.

*161 361 ● 648 Further evidence of collateral importance is derived from consideration of the location of the village of Bubal. Gifford and Schenck (1926, p. 27) place Bubal on Atwell's Island, near Alpaugh, in T23S, R23E, that is, on the east side of Lake Tulare. Neither Martin (in 1804) nor Moraga (Muñoz diary of 1806) locates the rancheria with any precision but Cabot (1815) left San Miguel on October 2, 1814, and on October 3 traveled over an immense plain, arriving late in the day at Bubal, on the shore of a big lake. This can have been only Lake Tulare and the west shore thereof. The next year Ortega (1815), approaching from the north or northwest, passed through Sumtache (i.e., Chunut) and went on to Bubal, where he arrived late at night, not having been able to find the village ". . . por haverse mudado de su sitio propio. . ." Estudillo was the next visitor who has left us a detailed account of this area. On October 22, 1819, he went from near Cholam to a place called Los Alisos near the edge of the foothills of the coast range. On October 23 he went across the plain and on October 24 arrived at Bubal, obviously from the west, and found it deserted, adding the comment that the village ". . . manifesto aver ya dias q. se fueron a otra parte." The following day he pushed five leagues south through tule swamp and found the settlement on the bank of the lake although his soldiers had to wade waist deep for two leagues farther in order to catch most of the inhabitants. Apropos of this incident he says regarding Bubal: "Esta es la rancheria de gentiles mas immediata a las misiones, y la q. con mayor frecuencia se hacen cristianos en la de San Miguel."

From these accounts it is very clear that the original site of Bubal was on the west, not the east, shore of the lake and that because of the depredations of the Spaniards the inhabitants fled into the lake itself, where they made at least temporary settlements. That these became their permanent home is attested by the fact that no later than 1826 Pico stated that Bubal was situated on an island in the lake. Subsequently contemporary writers as well as the modern ethnographers agree that the principal village

*161 of the Wowol was on Atwell's Island.

From the demographic point of view the chief justification for tracing the migration of Bubal in the first two decades of the nineteenth century is to indicate how the constant pressure of the Spaniards, through incessant military expeditions, could affect the population. Through a series of years, their native village site having become untenable, the people of Bubal were forced to seek precarious and inadequate shelter wherever they might find it in the depths of the tule swamps until ultimately they could establish themselves in a new home, an island fortress where they might remain relatively undisturbed. Starvation, casual massacre, and disease coupled with exposure must have strongly reduced the total number. Hence a 50 per cent decrease in ten or fifteen years—from Martin to Cabot and Estudillo—is not at all surprising.

*161 The Chunut were first visited by Martin in 1804, who designated their principal rancheria Chuntache but gave no population figures. Two years later, in 1806, it was seen by Moraga, who called it Tunctache and said it had 250 people. Cabot in 1814 said there were 700 persons and Ortega in 1815 found 20 males. Estudillo in 1819 found 103 young braves ("indios gallardos mozos") and 200 women, old men, and children. However, he also states that the captain and "la mayor parte de la gente" were away on a visit toward Lake Buenavista.

The estimates of Cabot and Estudillo appear to be quite reliable. Cabot describes Bubal and then passes on to Suntache. The latter place he says had a population "about the same as the preceding," or 700 persons. Since Estudillo took the pains to count the young men precisely, his remaining estimate must be fairly correct. The total thus is 303 persons present plus more than the same number of absentees, or approximately 700.

Since the location and history of Tuntache was very similar to that of Bubal and since in the period 1815-1819 the population was nearly the same, it is very probable that there was a reduction in population at the former village analogous to that seen at the latter. Although we have no concrete data, such as Martin's report for Bubal in 1804, which may be applied to Tuntache, it may be assumed with safety that the aboriginal inhabitants of this rancheria numbered at least 1,200.

The third lake tribe was the Tachi. This tribe, or its principal village, was first recorded by Martin in 1804. He gives no direct figures but implies that there were 4,000 inhabitants, although he may have been referring to the entire lake area. The next visitor of consequence was Cabot in 1814 who stated that Tache ". . . segun presenta y por la caseria que la compone' . . ." had 1,000 souls. At a distance of two leagues he found another rancheria, Guchame, which may have belonged to the same tribe, which ". . . segun presenta [64B] y informes tomados no pasara de 200 almas . . ." The next year Ortega attacked the rancheria but the people had been warned and had all fled when he entered. They had not returned, moreover, in 1819, when they were seen by Estudillo. They must have been in badlands, because Estudillo found them living deep in the swamp, in a "gran Bolson de Tule, sin poder tener lumbre." Estudillo gives no figures but he makes the interesting [622] comment that the Tachi had four chiefs and that the rancheria (or tribe) had several "parts," each at some distance from the others. This raises the question whether Cabot saw the only rancheria of the tribe or

*161 the region and left a circumstantial account of his visit. Starting from Bubal, he approached the Telame area, reaching first the village of Gelecto, where ". . . encontraron no mas el cementerio: se habia destruido por las guerras. . . ." These wars apparently were raids and
●[648] skirmishes in which refugees from the missions and other Indian villages participated. From Gelecto the party went to Telamni ". . . al llegar alli los divisaron de Lihuauhilame el grande . . . done al dia anterior habian tenido una gran refriega cuyo resultado fue dar muerte a unos 8 hombres . . . ." The captain of the latter rancheria sent a messenger to Martinez with the report the place contained "como de 300 casados." Gelecto was one league from Lihuauhilame and since the latter village could be seen from Telame the distance between the two could not have been more than a league. Martinez then went six leagues south to Quihuama, before proceeding westward on the way home.

Lihuauhilame contained 300 married men, or heads of families. The aboriginal social family consisted of
[592] at least five persons, and even after the disruption suffered from 1804 to 1816 must have amounted to four. The total population, according to this assumption, must have reached fully 1,200, with a probable pre-invasion value of at least 1,500. Martinez therefore gives us four sizable places: Gelecto (depopulated), Telame (minimum 800 according to Moraga and Cabot), Lihuauhilame (1,200), and Quihuama.

Subsequent visitors (e.g., Estudillo, 1819, and Rodriguez, 1828) mention Telame but give no data with respect to size nor do they specify any other rancherias in the immediate vicinity. For basic population data we are consequently forced to depend upon Cabot, Moraga, and Martinez.

In the discussion of Bubal mention was made of the attrition of population due to war and disease during the period following the first entry of the Spaniards in or about the year 1800. That these factors were very serious becomes even more evident from the accounts of the
[648] Telame region. Martinez describes the total obliteration of Gelecto, which he ascribes to the "wars." Elsewhere
[578] in his report he refers to much internecine fighting among villages and between natives and fugitives from the missions. Moreover, the Spanish accounts repeat ad nauseam the statement that this or that village was attacked or destroyed in the course of various expeditions, or that village after village was deserted by its inhabitants because of fear of the soldiers. It is highly probable that there is a great deal of lost history pertaining to the central valley during this period and that tremendous destruction was inflicted upon the native villages which was never recorded in the official documents.

*161 Hunger and disease were likewise rampant. Clear
165 indication of this condition is contained in the sentence
731 of Ortega, in 1815, with respect to Telame: ". . . encontrando esta grande rancheria toda desparramada por la mucha mortandad que havian tenido, y la much hambre que padecian . . ." With regard to the cause of the "mortality" it is clear that a part was due to the killing by the Spaniards and other Indians during the "wars," a part was due to famine, and very likely the remainder was due to disease. Although this factor is not specifi-
*161 cally mentioned, the word "mortandad" was widely em-
164 ployed by the Spaniards and Mexicans to connote the
73 effects of an epidemic. Furthermore, the absence of disease would be more difficult to explain than its presence in view of the wide intercourse between the peoples of the southern valley and those of the coast at a time when the Indians of the missions were dying by thousands

*161 Derby, only by the rancheria of Notonto which then had 300 inhabitants. The population had thus fallen to 17.6 per cent of its former value. A footnote to the decline of the native inhabitants in this region is the fact that within a year or two after Derby's visit the village of [648] Notonto was attacked by American cattlemen and farmers. The rancheria was devastated and 200 of the 300 people present were massacred in cold blood.

For the second sector of the Kings River we are dependent primarily upon the record of the Moraga expedition. Moraga and Muñoz evidently covered the river from the vicinity of Reedley to, or nearly to, the junction of the main stream and Mill Creek. The villages mentioned by them belonged principally to the Aiticha and the Choinimni. The Wechihit and the Toihicha may have been included but the Chukamina, Michahai, and Emtimbich seem to have been overlooked. Hence the figures given by Moraga are undoubtedly incomplete.

On October 16, 1806, having arrived from the San Joaquin River two days previously, Moraga sent out two scouting parties. One went upstream and found a [361] rancheria of "como de 60 almas," called Ayquiche (or Aycayche). They were no doubt among the Aiticha, above Sanger. Here they heard about, but did not see, six other rancherias "sitas a la orillas del rio por la parte de la sierra." The other party went downstream and found three villages close together on a spacious plain along the banks of the river. They had a total of 400 inhabitants, but most of the people had fled. The "List of rancherias visited in this trip and the one in April" gives the names of these villages: Aycayche, which "according to the Indians" had 200 people, Ecsaa with 100, Chiaja with 100, and Xayuase with 100. In addition there was Capitau, which was very small and a "sugeto" of Xayuase. It had about 10 people. Apparently in October Muñoz and Moraga found only 60 Indians left in Aycayche, whereas in April they learned that it really contained 200. The difference must be ascribed to fugitivism.

The three downstream villages are credited by the "List" with 100 inhabitants apiece, but the diary states that there was a total of 400. The latter figure is more likely to be correct. Thus, with Aycayche, Moraga saw in this sector four villages and 600 persons. The other group of villages, six in number, was farther toward the mountains and no particular information concerning them is given in the diary. The "List," however, is more explicit. Under Aycayche it is stated:

> Aqui hay otras 6 rancherias que no se pudieron reconocer y son todos, segun la noticia de los indios de esta rancheria como del porte de almas de Pizcache.

Pizcache is said to contain 200 souls. An aggregate of 1,200 persons is therefore indicated or, for the entire region seen by Moraga, 1,800.

The middle course of the Kings River has been discussed in the preceding section and it has been pointed out that in the middle of the nineteenth century this region was relatively heavily populated. The accounts of several contemporary observers indicate that in 1850 or thereabouts somewhere between 2,000 and 4,000 natives were still to be found between the remnants of the Nutunutu on the west and the foothills Mono on the east. The ethnographic data supplied by Kroeber, Gayton, Latta, and Stewart show approximately 25 villages remembered by informants. If we use the fairly conservative average of 150 persons per village, the total

[Ep. 57A]

*161 cisco Bay. The reduction of this region may not have been complete by 1805 and Tulare Indians were coming 127 in by that year. Hence there is a chance of overlap. 797 This source of error, however, may be excluded for all practical purposes if no doubtful village which continued to furnish converts after 1810 is included in the list, for the reduction of the Costanoans was certainly complete by that time.

*161 Concerning village size various items of information are available. In the diary of Ramon Abella in 1811 he mentions that the Cholbones had three rancherias with a population of 900, or 300 per rancheria. That of the Coyboses had 180 and that of the Tauquimenes 200 men and 60 houses. The population of the latter tribe, if we apply the ratio found by Zalvidea at the southern end of the valley, should be 650. This ratio, it will be remembered, is based on Zalvidea's statement that he counted as men all males between the ages seven and forty. If, on the other hand, we assume that Abella referred to all males except small children and further that the sex ratio was unity, the adults would have numbered 400 and, if 15 per cent of the village were children, the total would be approximately 470. However, in the northern end of the valley we have much more solid data with which to work than at the extreme south.

The baptism records of the missions of San Jose and Santa Clara to which reference is made above include for each gentile village a breakdown of men, women, and children. These data have been already discussed in connection with the rancherias on Lake Tulare and it has been shown that, if proper correction is made for the sex ratio, men and women each contributed 41.8 per cent of the population and children 16.4 per cent. It is clear that in the north the Franciscans employed their standard system of calling children all persons under the age of ten years (not seven years) and including as males all men above the same age. Zalvidea's system was used only by himself. Consequently, a village with 200 men would have contained 563 persons in all.

For the village of the Tauquimenes with 60 houses the average would have been 9.38 persons per house. That this number is not excessive is demonstrated by the account of the village of Chuppumne contained also in Duran's diary. This rancheria had 35 houses, some of which were 40 to 50 paces in circumference. Since [342] a pace is roughly a yard the diameter of such a house would be 43 feet, amply sufficient to accommodate 9 persons. Chuppumne would thus have had a population of 315. Duran also mentions a rancheria of the Ochejamnes which had 40 houses, or 360 inhabitants.

*161 Luis Argüello (MS, 1813) describes an expedition ●648 under the command of one Soto, whose party was attacked by Indians in the marshes of the delta. Schenck (1926, p. 129) locates the scene as in T5N, R4E, near Walnut Grove and designates the tribe as the Unsumnes or Cosumnes. Now Argüello states that the expedition crept up on the Indians overnight and attacked at dawn. They were surprised to find that their coming had nevertheless been detected and that the Indians had sent away the women and children. The Spaniards were met by a force of warriors, which Soto placed as his best estimate at 1,000 persons. These were drawn from four rancherias in the vicinity. One may always exercise skepticism with reference to these estimates of enemy forces, particularly in this instance, since the Spaniards were roughly handled and suffered several casualties in addition to being forced to withdraw. On the other hand, the invaders consisted of 13 well armed Spaniards and

*161 ●648 100 Indian auxiliaries. Nothing like an equal number of natives could have withstood them. Soto's estimate may be cut in half but at least 500 warriors must be allowed, or 125 for each of the four rancherias. Now the fighting population, even in a great emergency, does not coincide with the total male population. If there were 500 warriors, there must have been fully 300 young boys, invalids, and old men who were not present. Hence we must concede a *161 male population of no less than 800 for the four villages. If the percentage values established previously are used, the mean village size was approximately 475.

To the villages just described may be added the one seen by Moraga on the Stanislaus River in 1806, which had 200 inhabitants.

These twelve villages thus yield an average of 362 inhabitants each. Although throughout the territory many rancherias were doubtless small, it is equally probable that some were very large, approaching the magnitude of Chischa and Bubal in the south. Hence, unless in some particular instance there is clear reason to believe otherwise, 300 cannot be regarded as an excessive estimate for the average village of the delta.

In considering in detail the population of the delta (see map 6, area 13), it is convenient to segregate groups according to tribal distinctions rather than strictly according to geographical points. The reason lies primarily in the fact that the early writers and the mission records were relatively explicit with respect to names of villages and groups but were badly confused with respect to localities. In the densely populated but physiographically homogeneous delta region, with its scores of small streams, sloughs, and islands, explorers found it very difficult to establish clear landmarks by which the inhabitants might be oriented. A state of confusion has arisen of a kind to generate many controversies among ethnographers, controversies which are not pertinent in the present connection and which it is desirable to avoid as far as possible. In order to adopt a more or less uniform system with respect to tribal nomenclature and arrangement it is proposed to follow here the practice of Schenck (1926), who has made an exhaustive study of the area.

Bolbones (syn. Cholbones, Chilamne, Chulame).—This large group occupied the sloughs of the lower San Joaquin west of Stockton. Schenck, on his map (1926, p. 133) shows their territory as being bounded by the main stream of the San Joaquin River on the east and by the channel now known as the "Old River" on the west. This delineation of their habitat is supported by the diaries of Abella and Viader. Schenck classifies the subtribes or divisions of the main group as follows:

Cholbones	a group
Pescadero	a village
Jusmites or Cosmistas	a village plus
Fugites or Tugites	a village plus
Tomchom, under Fugites	a village
Nototemnes	a village

Although these natives are mentioned frequently in the correspondence of the period, the first recorded exploration of their area was that of Fr. José Viader in 1810. This missionary left Mission San Jose on August 15 and went by way of Pittsburg and Antioch to the mouth of the San Joaquin, whence he traveled southeast to Pescadero, ". . . la rancheria de los Cholvones." Leaving the rancheria he went on up the river. Viader's second expedition was carried out during the month of October of the same year. This time he went directly from San Jose to Pescadero, which he says was 15 leagues

[P. 59 A]

	Baptisms, San Jose	Baptisms, Santa Clara
*161 799 Pitemis...	None	(60), 1814-1831 (98 per cent in 1814-1816)
Coybos....	(94), 1808-1826 (71 per cent in 1811-1812	None

To judge by the three separate periods in which the majority of the baptisms occurred there were three groups of people: the Leuchas, who were brought into the fold primarily during 1805 and 1806, the Coybos, principally in 1811-1812, and the Pitemis, converted two or three years later. The Leuchas were taken to both missions, but the Coybos were brought only to San Jose and the Pitemis only to Santa Clara. Abella said that in 1811 the village of Coybos had 180 inhabitants, a figure which has been used in computing the average village size. But the aboriginal population was probably greater. This view is substantiated by the events which preceded Abella's visit. In 1805 Father Cuevas of San Jose Mission went on an unauthorized expedition to the Leuchas—the best account is that by José Argüello (MS, 1805)—in search of converts.[5] He was badly treated and some of his men were wounded by the natives. This and [CA8] the punitive expeditions which immediately followed no doubt accounted for the wave of conversions in 1805 and 1806. But at the same time the entire aboriginal group unquestionably suffered heavily from battle casualties and economic disturbance so that the population five years later must have been seriously reduced. It is thus justifiable to assume that originally there were three villages and that each was of average size. The population may therefore be set at fully 900 persons.

*161 Some further information is derived from the recollections of José María Amador (MS, 1877). This pioneer, who received his facts second-hand from his father, mentions (pp. 13-15) the campaign of 1805 against the "Loechas," who, he says lived 4 to 5 leagues from Livermore. This would put them west of the San Joaquin River, south of the Bolbones, in T1S, R5E, not on the east bank as shown by Schenck. Amador then goes on to say that after the Cuevas affair the Leuchas ". . . se habian ya cambiado el rio de San Joaquin a una rancheria que se llamaba de los Pitemis." They were all captured and taken to San Jose. It is thus reasonably clear that the Leuchas originally did live west of the river, and crossed over to the east side as a result of the punitive expeditions of the Spaniards. Furthermore, the village of the Pitemis was already in existence at this time, probably at or near the spot shown by Schenck. Coybos undoubtedly was another village within the same area. This region, therefore, at the time of Abella's visit in 1807 contained the established villages of Pitemis and Coybos plus a residue of unconverted, fugitive Leuchas who had taken refuge in them.

Amador's assertion that the Leuchas were all captured and taken to San Jose is not borne out by the baptism figures, which show only 23 Leuchas enrolled at Mission San Jose in 1805 to 1806. Many more, actually 73, were baptised at Santa Clara in 1805. The total is 96, and scarcely represents the entire personnel of the group. Nevertheless, if we add the casualties of battle, disease, and exposure to those baptised in the missions, and allow for the dispersion of the remainder, the sum will amount to no less than the 300 assumed above for the Leuchas.

[5] There are numerous other letters pertaining to this matter in the same volume of the Provincial State Papers.

*161 As for the Pitemis, Viader, on his first expedition, left Pescadero on August 20, 1810, and traveled south-southeast at some distance from the river. Within 3 leagues he passed ". . . en frente de una rancheria . . . Aupemis." Schenck says (p. 141): "Pitemis is a village of the Leuchas and it seems that Aupimis is to be identified with it." This cannot be true because Viader is highly explicit to the effect that he was west of the river and Amador is equally emphatic in stating that Pitemis was across the San Joaquin from Leuchas, i.e., to the east of it. Since Viader's visit was in 1810, after the Cuevas affair, there must have been three rancherias of the Leuchas and their allies: Aupimis, Pitemis, and Coybos.

114 Parenthetically, and for the record, the present writer would like to offer the comment that certain modern writers tend to assert the identity of Spanish or Indian names without adequate evidence. Schenck's opinion that Aupimis and Pitemis were the same place could have been based upon no more than a fancied resemblance in the names. Also, on page 141 of his paper he says: "The Leuchas might possibly be identified with Kroeber's Lakisamni (Yokuts) on the Stanislaus river." A brief examination of the mission records, apart from any other evidence, shows conclusively that two separate and distinct tribes were recognized by the contemporary missionaries.

(Leuchas et al. ..... 900)

*161 Ochejamnes.—This tribe is placed by Schenck on the east bank of the Sacramento River near the mouth of the [131] Cosumnes. Kroeber refers to the village of Ochehak and considers it a "political community." He shows it on his map (1925, p. 446) as lying on the Mokelumne, due north of Stockton. Duran, in his diary, May 21 (MS, 1817), describes how he followed the main stream of the Sacramento, i.e., the left branch, on his way back from his stopping point above Courtland. He reached the rancheria "llamada de Oche jamnes," which, although it contained 40 houses, was deserted. Quite soon thereafter ("a poco rato") he reached "la punta de la isla llamada de los Quenemsias," which has been identified definitely as Grand Island. Clearly, therefore, in 1817 the Ochejamnes had a village on the Sacramento higher up the river than is shown by Schenck.

According to Duran the village had 40 houses, which would mean 360 persons without reckoning possible subsidiary rancherias. The name is mentioned for only one mission, San Jose, at which 428 Ochejamne, or Oocheganes, were baptized between 1829 and 1836. This is prima facie evidence that Duran, who saw them in 1817, was referring, as he implies, only to one rancheria and that the tribe was actually larger. This idea is supported by the account of José Berreyesa in 1830 of severe Indian fighting in the delta (Berryesa, MS, 1830). The Ochejamnes and the Yunisumnes with certain American trappers were arrayed against the Californians, who had gathered together 450 auxiliary fighters from the Cosumnes and other tribes. No value is placed upon the number of Ochejamnes but it must have been considerable. It was probably as a result of this campaign that 428 members of the tribe were baptized at Mission San Jose. Even with a relatively complete conquest many of the natives must have escaped; hence in 1830 their total number must have reached 500. But this was in 1830, after a generation of expeditions and petty warfare. The aboriginal number must have been considerably greater, let us say 750.

(Ochejamnes ..... 750)

*161 Muñoz. In his diary of the Moraga expedition he tells how, on October 1, 1806, the party left the Merced River and proceded northwest for 7 to 8 leagues, reaching finally a river which they called the Dolores (i.e., the Tuolumne, probably near Modesto). There were no Indians, but signs of "varias rancherias," the inhabitants having all absconded. On October 2 they went northwest again and at 4 leagues, in the middle of a very large oak park, they came upon another river, which they called the Guadelupe. This could only have been the Stanislaus, probably somewhere east of Ripon. On the next day, October 3, they went up this river, and at the end of 6 leagues reached a rancheria called Taulamne. It was situated in "unos empinados voladeros e inacesibles por unas encrespadas rocas." They could not get at the Indians but estimated the population as 200, on the basis of the people they could discern. This village, be it noted, was situated among "steep cliffs, [361] inaccessible because of certain rough rocks"—not on an inaccessible rock in the river. This spot, judging by both the distances and the description, was along the limestone bluffs which steeply border the south bank of the Stanislaus for several miles opposite Knights Ferry. The Indians said that there were six other rancherias upstream. From this point the expedition moved the next day again northwest toward the Calaveras River. We gather little concersing tribal names from Moraga's account but we learn that there was a considerable population along the Stanislaus which demonstrated sharp defiance to the Spanish invaders.

*161 In the later documents there is little if any reference ● 648 to the Taulamnes but much discussion of the Lakisamni. There are repeated allusions to this group as being very hostile, bad raiders, and the object of several military campaigns, particularly those against the great Indian rebel chief, Estanislao. The fighting was undoubtedly on the Stanislaus River and the Indian protagonists were frequently allied with the Cosumnes and Mokelumnes. From the context of the documents they would seem to have been as numerous, or at least as bellicose, as either of these two tribes.

José Sanchez in 1826 refers to his bitter battle with Estanislao, which took place on the "rio de los Laquisimes" (MS, 1826). Joaquin Piña describes a military expedition under Guadelupe Vallejo in 1829 (MS, 1829). The objective was two "rancherias," one of the Laquisimes and the other of the Tagualames, on the "Rio de los Laquisimes," or the "Rio Pescadero." The campaign was inconclusive since nearly all of the Indians escaped.

*16 From the citations above it appears probable that the [10] Taulamnes and the Lakisamne were two distinct tribal groups and that their home was on both the Tuolumne and Stanislaus rivers. It is also likely that in the turmoil and confusion of the period between 1800 and 1830 the original spacing and distribution of the tribes became irreparably lost and that the surviving fragments of both amalgamated and reconstituted themselves with reference to their Spanish enemies rather than with reference to their aboriginal social organization. Hence they may have come to be concentrated more on the Stanislaus than on the Tuolumne.

The only direct population estimate we have for them is that of Muñoz, who claimed 200 persons for the village of Taulamne, among the cliffs. Assuming that 50 persons were not seen, the village would have had 250 inhabitants, which is more or less standard for the general area, according to Moraga's account. If the other six villages had an equal population, the total would have been 1,500. But this estimate does not include the

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

791 come from there. If the old man was Hopodno, however, he was half Yauelmani Yokuts and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518), hence was not a Chumash.

791 The old weather shaman, according to José, had to leave Fort
578 Tejón because of the jealousy he created when the Indian
●648 Agent made him many gifts and praised him for bringing rain
789 one summer to the parched wheat crop. The Agent had heard of the old man's power and promised him that if he could bring rain and save the wheat crop the old man would be relieved of his duties of irrigating the wheat fields. The shaman was not so easily deceived, so agreed only when the Agent promised him a substantial quantity of goods. The shaman produced a hard rain that fell all night. The rain was so heavy that the Agent became somewhat alarmed and went to the old man and asked him to stop the rain. When the old man obliged, the grateful Agent gave him blankets, money, food, and other items of value. The preferential treatment by the
578 Agent made the various Indian head-men at Fort Tejón quite jealous, so the rain shaman left the fort and made his home at Kernville.

791 A weather shaman, José explained, was able to control the
789 weather through fasting, by eating a certain amount of tobacco, and by isolating himself (inside his house, for example,) to concentrate on making it rain. Besides doing these things
578 the shaman had a basket in which "rocks" and eagle-feathers were kept for use in bringing rain. The "rocks" probably were
798 charmstones (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518; Latta, 1949, pp. 200-
789 209), and the feathers were probably eagle-down, or string
791 entwined with down. José never saw what the weather shaman had in his basket, because he was told that to do so would cause him to sicken and die. What José knew about the contents of the basket was what a friend of his had told him. José's grandmother, with whom he lived until her death when he was twelve years of age, also explained to him about weather shamanism and what was taking place when the young Kernville man made hail and rain fall at the Porterville fiesta attended by José.

796 José also attended a rattlesnake ceremony held at another
825 time at Porterville, although he was too young to understand fully all of the details and the implications of what he saw. He asked his grandmother about these things, and she explained them to him.

When the doctors went out to catch their rattlesnakes, Jose's grandmother told him not to go, but with a little boy's curi-

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

pit (*cf.* Kroeber, 1924, pp. 504-506; Gayton, 1948, pp. 122-124).

At the rattlesnake fiesta the various shamans from the different groups had rattlesnakes which they handled and, upon occasion, enraged sufficiently to cause the snakes to strike them. One shaman, José recalled, shook his snake until he was struck on the back of the hand. The doctor just let the snake hang down from his hand by its fangs. The stricken doctor then treated himself by rubbing ashes on his hand and by eating some tobacco. The doctor became ill, but by the following morning he was well again.

In speaking of his grandmother, José told about her contact with the California missions and of the time she spent at one of them. The reason for José's grandmother going to live at one of the missions with her little daughter (José's mother) came about when the Tokya (?) (Chumash) induced various groups of the southern San Joaquin Valley Yokuts to join them for an all-out fight against the Spanish Californians. A priest came, however, and told the people to be peaceful and not to fight, and to do the right thing. He talked them out of the fight and promised them a good life of adequate food and clothing if they would come peacefully to the mission with him. Many of the people, including Jose's grandmother and mother, went to the mission to live. Although the grandmother and her daughter were treated decently, they only remained at the mission a few years. José said that the mother and daughter left because "Indians, not like white people, love their own home country—even if times are tough at home."

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105 to graduate from high school, nor have any of the Indians become tradesmen or artisans. The primary source of income for the group is wages derived [166] from farm labor. This is one of the reasons for the fluctuating population; frequent trips from Lemoore in search of work take families away for days [648] or weeks. Frequent visits from other Indians also added to the picture of a constantly shifting population. Working as farm laborers has thrown the Tachis in with Mexicans, as well as with other groups of Indians, and genealogies have become very complicated.

115 533 956 The singers were all older people with the exception of Clarence Atwell, who was about thirty years old when the 1940 recordings were made. He was certainly the most energetic and outstanding singer recorded. He had been a practicing doctor for a year before his death in 1940.

Leon Manuel was about 70 years old when the 1957 recordings were made. He was still active and, since he received a pension from the government, had a good deal of time to devote to making clapsticks and other paraphernalia. He knew a great number of songs and was a good singer, but he was not a doctor. Manuel was in good standing with the Tachis because [554] of his pension and because he knew some of the "old-time songs" and ways. The importance of knowing traditional songs here is somewhat analogous to the attitudes in the Peyote cults among the Washo:

> The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists and the degree to which the Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with the song, drum, and rattle...A large repertoire of songs is also the measure of the man. One who has been able to "catch" many songs is not doubt "living a good life, and the medicine is backing him." (Merrian and d'Azevedo, 1957. 618:19.)

I make the analogy here between the Tachi and the Washo because doctors have had to be good singers, both at the present time and in the past. This is not unusual in California; in general, it is necessary to know a large number of songs and to be able to sing them well in order to be a doctor in many areas of the state.

115 533 Josie Atwell, the mother of Clarence Atwell, came to the Tachi community from Sanger, where there is a Wechihit Yokuts group. She was recorded in 1940 and again in 1957, and was in her eighties at the latter session.

Professor Kroeber's recordings of 1903 were made of a singer named Salt Lake Pete. Although the stories which he told are still known and remembered, not a single one of his songs is known today, neither the